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30 May 1980

## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### FATAH LEADER DISCUSSES EUROPEAN MIDEAST INITIATIVE, PLO STRATEGY

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 4 Apr 80 pp 27-29

[Report on interview with FATAH Central Committee Member Khalid al-Hasan, conducted by Farid al-Khatib, in London: 'Khalid al-Hasan: 'There Will Be No Return to War in Lebanon, and a Military Settlement Is Unthinkable!''; date of interview not given]

[Text] "The Palestinian problem began from Great Britain and to Great Britain it will return."

The withdrawal of the British mandate forces on 15 May 1948 marked the beginning of the existence of Israel, the development of the Palestinian problem and the rise of the Palestinian cause. Khalid al-Hasan, member of the Central Committee of the FATAH movement, arrived in London last week in the wake of talk about preparation to supplement Security Council Resolution 242 and the crystallization of a comprehensive European initiative to recognize the PLO and acknowledge the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent state.

Following Yasir 'Arafat's conquest of the "European hinterland"--he visited Austria, Spain, Portugal and Turkey last year amid a "diplomatic guerilla war" to win the hearts of Western Europe before the Palestinian resistance makes its move within the United States to win the American mind--"Abu Sa'id" arrived in London and told AL-HAWADITH that his visit there--following an earlier visit early last December--is one link in a chain of European visits by the delegations from the Palestine National Council which will include Norway, France, Holland, Belgium, West Germany, Italy and Ireland.

Fearful that the Palestinian resistance's extension into the Western world may cause it to become alienated from its political and military principles and its centers of supply in the Arab region--an eventuality which would make it easy for its many enemies both inside and outside the movement to strike at its lines of political and diplomatic communications and contacts and therefore at the movement itself--Khalil al-Wazir, the FATAH movement's other member on the Central Committee in Beirut, said that "the political action of the Palestinian revolution is not necessarily action within the framework of a political settlement."

It was nearing 1800 last Wednesday as the people entering the British House of Commons building through the central hall left the traffic-congested and rain-drenched streets of London and made their way to two inspection points inside. At the first of these, the police inspected handbags, and at the second each person passed through a device to detect weapons. After the police had performed their task of search and examination, the people advanced along broad corridors with statues along each side and works of art on the walls.

This hall, imposing with the works of art hung on its walls and elegant with its tiers of seats covered with a bower of microphones, was crowded with MP's, ambassadors, university professors and other invited guests waiting for the Council for the Advancement of Arab-British Understanding to present Khalid al-Hasan to deliver his lecture. Al-Hasan came forward from the rostrum with confident strides under the inquisitive eyes of the MP's and diplomats. Signs of fatigue and age showed on his face.

On "Budget Day," a day which usually preoccupies Britain, even the lobby of that hall was crowded with standing people. In his lecture, which lasted three-quarters of an hour and was intended as a reply to Zionist and Israeli propaganda designed to prevent the issuance of the European initiative, al-Hasan said: "We believe in achieving a political settlement in the Middle East 'through cooperation and not based on monopoly'--or in other words through the joint participation of Europe, the Soviet Union and the United States. We believe in the importance of the European initiative--and we have been told that it is in earnest--and in the necessity that Great Britain and France cooperate on this initiative with the United States."

He said: "This initiative will win the support of the PLO if it takes the following formula into consideration: the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all the Arab lands it occupied in 1967, including the West Bank with East Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip; the existence of a transition phase; the return of the Palestinian people and the pursuit of its right to self-determination; and the formation of a UN committee to settle the Palestinian problem once and for all."

He added that this initiative must be clear since the Palestinian people has been plagued with obscurity in Security Council Resolutions and international agreements concerning the Middle East, and that it should have a definite time limit since it has proved impossible to put Security Council Resolution 242 into effect since 1967.

Then al-Hasan responded to some of the charges aimed at the PLO and the future Palestinian state, the most serious of these charges being communism and sabotage. He said: "The peoples of the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc states are not themselves communist, but rather it is the parties in these states which are communist. Just as there are communist parties in Great Britain, France, Italy and Israel, the communists are represented

on the Central Palestinian Council [sic]". He said it was baffling that the Soviet Union was depicted as an angel when it approved the decision to partition Palestine and establish Israel in 1948 and as a devil after it recognized the PLO.

In another area, he requested that a government or press committee be set up to gather facts about the organization in order to verify that it is a movement of "fighters for freedom" and not a "movement of saboteurs." He said: "Armed struggle is the means when it is impossible to regain rights through peaceful means. Every time the people have been stricken with frustration they have resorted to violence, and every time recognition of the people has been reinforced they have turned to peaceful means." He added that a Palestinian state made up of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would have a total area of 6,000 square kilometers and would not be big enough for all the Palestinian people, who number 4 million. Nevertheless, he said, the Palestinians have many work opportunities in the Arab states--especially in the oil states--which would ensure budgetary revenues for their state. This state would rely on tourism--especially of the religious sites--and on agriculture and the provision of technical expertise. Its ideology would be of the same brand as the ideologies of the other states in the region.

The basic rules of the British House of Commons were broken when those present stood up and applauded at the end of al-Hasan's talk--especially after he had answered some of their questions. Al-Hasan had a dinner invitation that evening from Conservative Party MP's, after having honored the invitation of "Kabu [sic] to lunch that same day which was attended by some of the Labor Party MP's. During dinner, one of the workers in the House of Commons dining room attracted al-Hasan's attention. It turned out that he was a Palestinian from Jerusalem, and al-Hasan introduced himself and the director of the PLO's London office, Nabil Ramalawi. After dinner was over, the waiter was waiting for the two men in front of the door to the kitchen. He presented them with two boxes of chocolates bearing the seal of the House of Commons, and said, "Please give these to your children!"

In al-Hasan's room at the Kensington Palace Hotel, AL-HAWADITH conducted an interview with the FATAH movement's Central Committee Member, who had switched from an environment of offices in the Sabra quarter of Beirut and Damascus hotels to the environment of London.

[Question] What other West European state will the PLO delegation visit after Great Britain, and what is its schedule then?

[Answer] The Palestinian National Council has prepared for intensive political activities in European parliamentary circles. The first stop will be to attend the meeting which the Council of the World Parliamentary Federation will hold in Oslo, Norway, in preparation for its seventh conference in Berlin next September.



In Strasbourg, France, on 17 April, a European-Palestinian parliamentary seminar will be held at the seat of the European Parliament. Members from the parliaments of all nine of the states that participate in the European Common Market will take part in this seminar. The aim of the meeting is to provide a deeper understanding of the new phase which the Palestinian cause is facing and the requirements of the Palestinian diplomatic movement in Europe.

Then the Palestinian National Council delegation in Strasbourg will divide up into several delegations which will make visits and hold discussions for the same purpose with members of parliament from Denmark, Holland, Belgium, West Germany, Italy, France, Ireland and Great Britain.

These visits will include information meetings at the level of the press and television.

[Question] To what extent would the resistance benefit from opening up the Golan front?

[Answer] Activity by the resistance from this front is not practical because of the presence of the international emergency forces along the Golan front. Moreover, the Syrian forces are in a state of military preparedness. In addition to this, most of this area is not included in the area that was originally the stage for such operations. Meanwhile, the other areas that are appropriate for them continue to be utilized. There is no need for a new declaration concerning them.

[Question] But it is the policy of the resistance to move against Israel from all the Arab fronts, especially in order to ease the situation on the Lebanese border at the present time.

[Answer] That is correct. And it is a strategic problem which includes not only the states surrounding occupied Palestine but all the Arab states in order to ensure freedom to act in one way or another in keeping with each state's potential for action.

As far as Lebanon is concerned, the resistance committed itself to a decision which originated with it and which took into consideration the Lebanese decision in force since 1970 not to carry out military operations across the common Lebanese-Palestinian border. However, the situation is different now because of the presence of the Israeli occupation forces in the area known as the "border strip" in southern Lebanon and the aggressive military operations that the Israeli forces are carrying out. This was the reason for the position of countering the Israeli aggression, a matter which the Lebanese and the Palestinians actually pursued side by side.

[Question] Is it true that the PLO is presently collecting \$2.00 on every barrel of oil in accordance with a secret agreement it made with Iran, as the London paper THE TIMES has stated?



[Answer] The story is incorrect in its basis and in its details and in its concept.

[Question] Why hasn't Iran provided any financial aid or heavy weapons to the PLO thus far?

[Answer] We haven't requested arms or funds from Iran. It is still at the stage of "setting its own house in order" and will be for some time yet. After that, we will just have to wait and see.

[Question] Then what has Iran provided to the Palestinian resistance?

[Answer] It has provided a change in Iranian foreign policy from the Zionist position to the Palestinian position. It has abrogated its relations with Israel and openly taken a position against Zionism and Israel. It has cut off its relations with Anwar Sadat, adhered to the resolutions concerning the Arab boycott and adopted the Palestinian positions in international meetings.

[Question] But you published an open letter to Imam Khomeyni which contained criticisms of the Iranian Islamic revolution. And it is reported that your brother, Hani al-Hasan, the director of the PLO's office in Tehran, delivered a copy of this letter to Imam Khomeyni. What were the main points in this letter? And what was Imam Khomeyni's answer?

[Answer] Imam Khomeyni did not reply to the letter. To summarize what was in the letter, it said that Iran should establish a clear foreign policy with regard to Arab relations based on the brotherhood enjoined by Islam and on friendship and good neighborliness because Iran needs its neighbors more than anyone else for the sake of reconstruction and the achievement of success for the revolution.

At the same time, the Iranian revolution faces a cultural and societal challenge with regard to the organization of the life of society and the state on the basis of Islam. I did not want Iran's leaders to fall into the mistake of the Sunni theologians who turned Islam into a religion of religious observances without any relation to social life.

On the other hand, Imam Khomeyni has the problems of the ethnic, sectarian and religious minorities. The whole world is waiting to see how he will solve these problems which other regimes have been unable to solve.

[Question] The Israeli paper JERUSALEM POST recently stated that 38 Palestinian seamen are in training in Egypt and frogmen are training in Libya, and that all of these individuals will be used in commando military operations against Israel. How much of this is true and how much is false?

[Answer] We send our students to various Arab and non-Arab universities and institutes, including merchant marine institutions. We also have

students in Egypt in the naval academy, which is an Arab project to produce marine captains and engineers. After completion of their studies, they have to go through a training period on board Arab ships until they take over their jobs with both Arab and non-Arab shipping lines.

[Question] But the JERUSALEM POST claimed that they are being trained so they can subsequently be used in commando naval operations against Israeli targets as in the Elat operation last year.

[Answer] As long as the Palestinian issue remains and the problem has not been solved, armed struggle will constitute a strategy within this framework. Its scope is not restricted to any specific kind of combat but includes various fields, one of which is naval operations.

[Question] Does the resistance have anyone training for frogman missions in Libya?

[Answer] There is no training of Palestinian frogmen in Libya. We have our own institutions in that field.

[Question] Do you believe that the drive for "national unification" led by President Ilyas Sarkis is capable of bringing Lebanon to the haven of independence, sovereignty, and a unified national territory?

[Answer] What a complicated matter it is! (He sighed.) There are possibilities that Lebanon may regain its unity, stability and prosperity within the framework of the principles of Lebanese unification announced by President Sarkis. Likewise, Lebanon needs certain powers of self-denial and a preference for the general welfare over the private welfare, whether it be the welfare of the individual or the party. Nevertheless, Lebanon is equally in danger of becoming the scene of a bloody explosion which at this stage would affect those countries surrounding it. This danger arises from continued cooperation with Israel and joint coordination for the purpose of implementing the Israeli design aimed at the destruction of Lebanon and the appropriation of southern Lebanon's land and waters (the Litani River). This plan also aims at destroying Lebanese-Palestinian, Lebanese-Syrian and Palestinian-Syrian relations by causing the area to erupt in a series of conflicts and struggles in which the Zionist enemy will be the ultimate beneficiary while the sole loser will be Lebanon and the Palestinian people.

The recent orientation—which emerged prior to Sarkis's program of national unification—toward solving Lebanon's problem by turning to the United States or Israel has proved a failure and will complicate matters and make the situation more serious.

The Lebanese are capable—if intentions are pure—of solving their problems faster than they imagine. The Palestinian position in that connection would be a source of support which would serve that goal without any interference. Perhaps Lebanon, which was in the past an example of freedom and stability,

could become an example of the Arab ability to solve internal problems and take control of the process of development toward a better future without any foreign interferences whatever their source. In this way, Lebanon would return to its former position as a haven for good and freedom and a coordinating channel this time for intellectual and political currents flowing from and to the Arab world.

The important thing is for Lebanon to understand its value and its capabilities and to realize that all of this is implicit in its unity and in the achievement of the societal reforms needed for its people in an advanced framework within the Lebanese concept of freedom.

[Question] How do you define the role the resistance must play in order to salvage conditions in Lebanon?

[Answer] We refuse to be a party in any political quarrel or armed clash or civil war. The revolution will adhere to its announced policy of complete cooperation with the legal authorities in everything that Lebanese unification accomplishes within the framework of Lebanese legality. In addition to understanding the Lebanese situation and the commitment it has toward Lebanon with regard to military action in south Lebanon, the Palestinian revolution also understands the benefits and the meaning of mutual commitment to the agreements concluded with the legal authorities regarding the Palestinian revolution in Lebanon.

[Question] The resistance tried to avoid getting involved in the "Two-Year War." It succeeded in doing this for a few months, but in the end it was compelled to enter it. How can a recurrence of this be prevented?

[Answer] The human and geographical intermeshing of all the forces and groupings in the Lebanese arena makes it difficult to avoid a conflict if it takes the form of direct military engagements, and this is what occurred in 1975. However, there is a big difference between the psychological state and convictions that were prevalent at that time and their counterparts at the present stage. At that time, every side believed that it was capable of achieving total victory for its ideas and that all it had to do was fight to achieve its goals. But the civil war proved that Lebanon's character is incompatible with a military settlement—to say nothing of the demoralization it produced, which made the citizen so disgusted that he entered a total state of rejection of any kind of fighting as a means of solving Lebanese internal problems. I believe that the overwhelming majority of the Lebanese people will resist anyone who begins any new civil war in Lebanon.

[Question] Is it true that King Husayn, in consultation with the Arab states and the PLO, is preparing an initiative "about"—not "on"—the Camp David agreements which he will submit to Washington in a drive to achieve an overall settlement?

[Answer] Recently, brother "Abu Lutf"--Mr Faruq al-Qaddumi, the chief of the PLO's Political Department--headed up a Palestinian delegation which visited Jordan. The delegation met with King Husayn and a number of officials, including the prime minister and the foreign minister. The two sides agreed to form a joint Palestinian-Jordanian committee which would meet for discussions once every 2 months or as the situation requires. At the same time, Jordan is conferring with several of the Arab states and engaging in an exchange of views with them. However, what we have to remember is that any Arab initiative put forward means that it contains a plan for a political settlement, and such an initiative must win the approval of the Arab summit as stipulated in the resolutions adopted in Baghdad and Tunis. These resolutions prohibited any member of the Arab summit from unilaterally taking a fundamental and fateful position connected with a phased solution of the problem of the Middle East and the national rights of the Palestinian people.

[Question] Is it true that Moscow asks certain Arab states to put pressure on the PLO whenever it goes too far in its contacts with Western Europe and the United States?

[Answer] This is not true at all. There is no need for an intermediary between us and the Soviets, and the contacts between Moscow and 'Arafat occur almost on a weekly basis. Moreover, the Soviets believe in the necessity of maintaining a dialog with all sides in the world, and this matter has been discussed many times in our meetings with them. In addition, neither Moscow nor any other government has the right to direct our policy and our contacts, and if we refuse to accept this from the Arab states then how could we accept it from non-Arab states?

[Question] What is your assessment of the meetings which the American president, Jimmy Carter, called on both Egyptian President Anwar Sadat and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin to attend this month?

[Answer] One of the main principles of Carter's election campaign is manifested in exploitation of the Camp David agreements. According to these agreements, 26 May is the deadline for the completion of the so-called "autonomy" measures. The negotiations on this issue have failed. The deadline for these agreements falls in the same week in which the election battle begins following the determination of the presidential nominees for the Democratic and Republican Parties. The announcement of the failure of these negotiations and the ensuing announcement of the collapse of the Camp David agreements would thus affect the fate of President Carter. For this reason, it was inevitable that this trilateral summit be held--whether at one time or with each leader individually--in the hope that an avenue toward the success of the Egyptian-Israeli negotiations in this area could be discovered and consequently the deadline agreed upon in the Camp David agreements could be extended for a few more months under the banner of continuing the negotiations in order to reach an agreement. By this,



President Carter would confirm that the agreements he concluded at Camp David still have the potential for success, which would enable him to continue his election campaign, on the one hand, and give President Sadat justification to extend the period of the negotiations, on the other.

[Question] Do you believe that the shah's move to Egypt will prove a burden to the Egyptians, or that he will be used from there as a bargaining card in the Middle East problem?

[Answer] Israel, to which the shah offered numerous services, would not hazard inviting him to spend the rest of his life there. This action will increase Egypt's difficulties. On the other hand, perhaps Sadat will also be able to utilize some of the shah's money in Egyptian projects either on the shah's own account or in the form of joint investments.

[Question] The resistance appears to be caught between the hammer and the anvil in its Arab relations. On the one hand, some of the Arab states demand that it demonstrate flexibility with regard to a political settlement, while other states accuse it of going too far. What is the true nature of the resistance's position?

[Answer] We do not concern ourselves with those who accuse us of going too far, whether their intentions are good or bad. There is an old saying that the road to hell is paved with good intentions.

As for the other part of the question, no one has demanded moderation from us. There are the Baghdad summit resolutions which we helped formulate and all parties approved, and these form the basis of action and thinking at this stage.

Aside from this, we have declared more than once that in the big national and pan-Arab problems such as the Palestinian problem, there is no moderate position and no extreme position. There are only a correct position and an erroneous position.

[Question] I've learned that you are writing a book in which you respond to materialism with idealism and that you have handed over some parts of the book for printing. What is the truth about this?

[Answer] I am not an idealist and the Arabs do not know idealistic thought. Moreover, the Arab civilization to which I belong is based on comprehensive thought and analysis with regard to existence, man and life.

What I am trying to write about is the material effects which have become facts of life in spite of ideology. Thus, for example, whether a society rests on a material basis or analytic thought, and whether it is the means of production or ideas which form the basis and the governing precept of the process of development, both courses generate ideas according to their



nature. Each course is represented by the values of the society based on it. This sociological value, which is ultimately an ideological value, becomes the governing precept and the motivating factor for the behaviour of the individual and the society, and consequently the established thought in the society ultimately becomes the determinant of the process of material activity.

My intantion behind this is to arrive at the reasons for the failure of the attempts at Arab awakening and the relationship of this to an understanding of the meaning of awakening as well as its requirements and its relationship to the product of the ideational essence of the society and the nation. Does development take place in the material means and material activity--including the means of production--or in its motivating factors and the challenges which result from it and in the hub of development, which is the intellect and ideas of man?

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## INTER-ARAB AFFAIRS

### POWERS COMPETE IN ARMING GULF STATES

Paris AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUMALI in Arabic 14 Apr 80 p 30

[Article by Tawfiq Haklah Ibrahim: "Competition to Arm the Gulf: The Saudis Will Use the Mirage 2000 Before the French Themselves"]

[Text] If New Zealand lamb has divided the French and the British within the European Common Market, there is another field in which both France and Great Britain are engaging in intense competition which is taking on the character of a "shadow war." This field is the arm sales market.

Since the mid-1960's, the French have snatched numerous arm contracts from the British in countries which had been considered completely subject to British influence. This notable change has been particularly evident in the Gulf region. The French have given the British only the leftovers: contracts involving the Saladin armored car and, in some cases, Rapier antiaircraft missiles.

Concerning the reasons for the success of this French drive, British Minister of State for Defense Lord Strathcona says: "Our loss of the arm markets to France can be attributed to ethical positions." This "ethical" matter is the result of Britain's membership in NATO, which prevents the British from selling their arm to certain countries—particularly Iraq, which utilizes French arm firms.

However, London has decided to upset the equilibrium now in effect, according to Lord Strathcona. The British intend to imitate the French by allowing the British governmental authorities to support British arm sales. In addition, they have decided to attack the French on their own ground: the field of aviation which represents 60 percent of French sales. In order to achieve this goal, London has resorted to an effective device. This is the British Aerospace Group which was founded in April 1977 and includes the British Aircraft Company, Hooker-Sidley Aviation, Hooker-Sidley Dynamics and the Scottish Aviation Company. The group employs a total of 72,000 workers.

At the start of last winter, the British launched their first attack. During Lord Carrington's tour through the Gulf, officials in the arm sales

organization of the British Defense Ministry offered the British products to take advantage of a presently existing gap in the French aviation weapons catalog between the Mirage F-1, which is no longer technologically advanced, and the Mirage 2000 which will not go on sale for 5 more years.

The English-German-Italian Tornado aircraft is superior to the Mirage F-1 and is armed with two Hauser 27-mm machine guns, Sparrow and Sidewinder air-to-air missiles, Martels antiarmor missiles and a bomb load of 2 tons. The British Aerospace Company preferred that the Saudis buy the Tornado aircraft, especially since Saudi pilots have trained in British-made Strikemaster aircraft since 1966 and 1973. The British have won a contract with Saudi Arabia which is worth 315 million pounds sterling and stipulates the presence of 2,000 British technicians on Saudi soil. In addition, the British wanted Hawk aircraft to take the place of the French-German made Alpha-Jet aircraft—especially since the characteristics of the two planes are similar and Qatar has already bought a number of Hawks.

But in no time at all, Paris responded to the British attack which had surprised them at the first stage. President Giscard d'Estaing's tour through the Gulf countries helped French arms salesmen to balance the scales. The Saudis ordered Mirage 2000's, and will be supplied with them before the French Army itself. On their part, the Iraqis confirmed that they wish to be supplied with Mirage 2000's, and the Pakistanis have expressed the same desire.

This setback has not undermined the determination of the British, however. One British Aerospace official justified the failure by saying: "If the French have scored a victory, this can be attributed to the fact that the cost of our arms has risen somewhat." Thus, for the cost of 15 Hawk aircraft 20 Alpha-Jets can be purchased, while a Tornado aircraft costs 12 million pounds sterling.

The British official adds: "In Qatar, we did not get support from our government as the French did from theirs. And the fact that French President Giscard d'Estaing threw his weight in was enough to make (Alpha-Jet) win."

In this connection, Lord Strathcona says: "From now on, we will concern ourselves with areas where it is in our power to alter prices in a significant way in order to obtain contracts. Because owing to the military contracts, other civilian contracts are signed. We must consider weapons a line of penetration for the markets."

London is trying to strengthen its footholds. In the Sultanate of Oman, the British are established in such a way that the sultanate's arms purchases have remained under their control. They have sold Muscat Rapier missiles and organized the Omani Army around the Jaguar aircraft. They are now in the process of building a rapid warning system which will allow the Omani Air Force to be ready to fly in 5 minutes in the event of a penetration of Omani airspace.

In addition, the British Aerospace Company is pouring out efforts to create a complete assortment of some 25 types of missiles of the highest technological sophistication. The company is seeking to further develop some types of missiles to make them easier to sell. Thus, the Rapier antitank missile, of which some 10,000 have been manufactured, is currently being produced to be mounted on an American-made chassis, thus turning it into a mobile and more sophisticated weapon.

Moreover, the Sea Wolf sea-to-air, antimissile and antiaircraft missile is undergoing a miniaturization process to make it easier to export than the current heavier version. Work is also underway to develop the Sea Dart antiship missile, which is currently launched from patrol boats, to make it launchable from ships. The Sea Eagle missile which will be put into operation in the next few years is also in the assortment of new missiles.

The latest invention of British Aerospace, however, is the Sky Flash air-to-air missile whose development program cost more than 75 million pounds sterling. This missile increases the effectiveness of the Tornado aircraft as well as other fighters which are equipped with it. In addition, the Harrier—the one-of-a-kind aircraft with a vertical takeoff capability—will undergo tests to push its development process forward. Thus far, this type of aircraft has been sold to the American Coast Guard and to the Spanish Navy, which is contemplating using it with platforms of the Sky Jump type. However, another model of the Harrier aircraft (the Bigwing) which is faster and sturdier than the present model is currently being produced in cooperation with the McDonnell Douglas Company. In addition, the British are endeavoring to equip the French-English Jaguar aircraft with a powerful engine to make it more technologically sophisticated.

Despite the fact that the British have not cut out their cooperation with the French in the weapons fields—talks are now going on with the Dassault Company concerning the production of a new aircraft—the theme of the present hour is competition.

#### Mirage 2000 in 1983

In an astonishing show held last week at [Bretagne] base, the general administration for French arms exhibited to members of the press the final form of the Mirage 2000, which is manufactured by the Dassault-(Brigue) Company.

Many modifications have been made to the first version of the Mirage 2000, which flew for the first time in March 1978. This aircraft—and especially the first batch of them (at least until 1983)—will be equipped with multifunctional radar (made by Thomsen) which is capable of discriminating fixed echoes from moving echoes. The technological sophistication of this radar surpasses that of the (Cyrano) radar with which the Mirage F-1 is equipped.

However, the multi-functional radar will later be replaced with the RDA radar, which is one of the most up-to-date electronic inventions in view

of its ability to pick up all aircraft regardless of their speeds or altitudes--particularly low-flying aircraft including air-to-air missiles. The Mirage 2000 fires Super 530 missiles made by the (Matara) Company.

While the Mirage 2000 is not suitable for the French Air Force in view of its high cost and its incompatibility with technological developments in the world of combat aviation, it is expected that the French Army will receive the first batch of Mirage 2000's in 1983.

8591

CBO: 4802



## AFGHANS SHOT FOR RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 28 Mar 80 p 1

[Text] The Masses Resist Soviet Presence. Ten people killed in Afghanistan for calling the Azan [call for prayers five times a day], and shouting religious slogans. The Russians are using poison gas and napalm bombs against Afghan insurgents, says (World Federation of Human Rights) representative after visiting Afghanistan. Attack by a Russian brigade repelled in the province of Ashghan. One tank destroyed. Total strike is called in Herat. Movement is afoot to shout anti-Russian slogans from rooftops. Insurgency in the Afghan army are reported in several places. The governor of Takhir commits suicide.

Paris, 27 March (A.P.P./A.P.P. Radio Report)--Returning from a tour of Afghanistan, Mr (Michael Barry), a representative of the (World Federation of Human Rights), revealed here that the Soviets are using poison gas and napalm bombs against the Afghan rebels. Talking about his impressions of the tour, Mr (Barry) said that Russian airplanes have been spewing out poison gas and throwing napalm bombs over the mountain valleys of Afghanistan for the last 2 months.

Meanwhile, reports received from Afghanistan say that in Kandahar, Herat and Ghazni, the insurgents have stepped up their resistance to the Russians, and a movement of shouting anti-Soviet slogans from the rooftops has taken a strong hold among the Afghan masses. The Soviet-backed administration of Babrak Karmal has killed 10 people by firing squad on charges that they called the azan, and shouted "Allah-ho-Akbar" [God is Great]. In order to express their anger against the Babrak Karmal regime of Afghanistan and the presence of Russians in the country, people now have organized groups to participate collectively in shouting slogans from the rooftops of their houses. These activities are constantly growing. In the cities of Kandahar and Herat, religious slogans and azan calls are heard throughout the night. In all adjoining area....

## BRIEFS

MILITARY COMMANDERS REPLACED--Islamabad, 29 Mar (P.P.I.)--It has been reported that Afghan soldiers continue to desert their Russian masters and join with the Afghan rebels. According to a news item published in an Egyptian newspaper, when people interrogated an Afghan army officer manning a post in Kabul, and asked him if he would be willing to kill his own mother in the line of duty, the officer deserted his post and joined the ranks of the insurgents. The Russians have dismissed the top Afghan army officials and replaced them with others whose loyalty to the Soviet Union is not in question. In the place of Commander-in-Chief Mohammed Yaqub, Lt Gen Hibba Jan has been appointed. The job of Col Ghulam Sakhi, Commander-in-Chief of the Afghan Air Force, has been given to Lt Col Nazar Mohammad. Since January, no one has seen Lt Col Allah Din, Commander of the Seventh Garrison of Kabul. (Text) (Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 30 Mar 80 p 1) 9612

CSO: 4203

## IRAN

### ESSENTIAL ISSUES DISCUSSED BY PROSECUTOR GENERAL

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 14 May 80 p 2

[Text] In an interview with representatives of the mass media yesterday, Ayatollah Qoddusi, the prosecutor general of the Islamic revolution of Iran, responded to the questions of correspondents.

The first question concerned Amnesty International's accusation that Iranian trials have not adhered to legal standards. The prosecutor general of the revolution said:

"Unfortunately, the name of this organization like other similar organizations consists of words which are deceptive on the surface and the organization itself is hollow.

"Amnesty International shows sensitivity on certain occasions but on certain other occasions where it should act, it remains silent. Concerning the Iranian students who are under pressure in the United States or might have been tortured, the organization has not protested in the least. And concerning the people in jails in Lebanon, Palestine, and other places it chooses to be silent."

Concerning Amnesty International's protest of the trial and execution of Ms Farrokhru Parea, the prosecutor general of the Islamic revolution said:

"Anyone who could defend Ashraf Pahlavi could also defend this woman."

Concerning the termination of 40 publications, the prosecutor general said: "We permit certain newspapers so the public can see just what sort of things they write."

"These papers have no licenses. The people have made a revolution and gained freedom, but these opportunists take advantage of the situation.

"One of these newspapers has written that people were bombed in Sanandaj. Regardless of the fact that this report is completely false, they must be asked how long the army is expected to waste its time before the people allow it to do its duty. All these newspapers have attacked the imam's new year message as a statement to please Carter. How can they write such things relating the imam's new year message to the Americans?

"One of these newspapers called PISHTAZ has written: 'By the way, why does this so-called anti-imperialist faction insist on security?' Thus it is obvious that they do not want the country to be secure.

"They insist that the Kurdistan situation should remain as it is. Was the SAVAK file of 'Ezoddin Hoseyni not published? But these newspapers call him a champion of struggle.

"What should be done in Kurdistan? These newspapers say: Do not fight. And do not negotiate either. There is only one way, to hand over Kurdistan to 'Ezoddin Hoseyni and Badam Hoseyn.

"These newspapers write that the arrest of students in Khuzestan continues. We arrested 700 persons when they attacked a Friday prayer session. After interrogation, 600 of them were released and only 2 guilty persons whose offenses carried a death penalty were executed."

Ayatollah Qoddusi added:

"If Moslems had not risen up, these people would have rotted in prisons. We are determined that either the prosecutor's office will be abolished or the publication of these plotting newspapers will be stopped."

#### Two Americans Captured

Concerning events in Kurdistan, the revolutionary prosecutor said: "A number were captured in the Sanandaj incidents and were transferred to Evin prison. Two Americans who were captured in the Kavir-e Lut incident are now in jail."

Concerning trial appeals the prosecutor general said: "The files of 20 persons who were sentenced to death have been studied and their death sentences overturned."

#### The Forqan Group

The prosecutor general of the Islamic revolution concerning the trials of the Forqan Group members said:

"Everyone saw how justly and humanely these trials were carried out. Even the International Red Cross visited the prisoners several times and in their letters to us they wrote that the Evin prison is unique and ideal and they even thanked us."

On the number of prisoners in Evin, the revolution's prosecutor general said:

"Between 670-710 prisoners are kept in Evin. The total number of prisoners connected with revolutionary concerns is between 1500-1700 throughout Iran. Following the imam's pardon decree, 300 persons were released from Evin and the rest await trial. But the shortage of judges and interrogators remains an insoluble problem."

#### Various Movements

In answer to the question of one of the correspondents concerning professors and students of Zahedan University being sent to Tehran, the prosecutor general said: "I will mention a general issue, that is, in the past half-century and perhaps even before, various movements began work to free the country from the claws of the dominators.

"They included the Constitutional Movement, the Jangal Movement, the Mossadeq Movement, the Tudeh Order, and the Students' Armed Defense Organization. They were all defeated. The only movement which came to fruition was the movement under the leadership of the imam with the support of the people which we have been witness to in the past year. Therefore, this is a people's revolution which sets the direction for us."

When asked about the trials of Mohammad Reza Sa'adati and Taqi Shahram, the revolutionary prosecutor said:

"The trials of these 2 persons will begin within 10 days, first with the trial of Shahram and then the trial of Mohammad Reza Sa'adati."



# JAPANESE DISSATISFACTION WITH IJPC DEAL REPORTED

Tokyo KYODO in English no time given 13 May 80 OW

[Text] Bandar Khomeini, Iran, 13 May (KYODO)--The dissatisfaction with Iranian authorities among Japanese engineers over the unfinished Japan-Iranian petrochemical complex here culminated with the arrival here Monday of Eimei Yamashita, president of Iran Chemical Development Co. (ICDC).

ICDC is Japanese partner in the Iran-Japan Petrochemical Co. (IJPC) dollar 3.3 billion project, which is now at standstill following Japan's first phase of economic and diplomatic sanctions against Iran in concert with the European Community to press for early release of American hostages in Iran.

On Saturday, the Iranian Government unilaterally notified the Japanese partner that 12 Japanese workers at the construction site and IJPC's Tokyo office would be discharged.

Some of the Japanese workers at the construction site branded the Iranian step as unreasonable, and said the time had come to pull out of the project.

Thus, the joint venture project which originally intended for promoting friendship between the two countries is now on the verge of internal collapse.

The first reaction among the Japanese staff to the unilateral dismissal of some of their colleagues by the Iranian authorities was dissatisfaction with Iranian workers here.

They complained, for example, that the Iranians are not punctual.

The low work will among Iranian workers is also cited as major reason for the dissatisfaction among the Japanese engineers.

Many Iranian workers are playing cards at the construction office even after the start of morning working hours.

The Japanese side contended that such an attitude stemmed from the fact that there are no Iranian middlemen who can adequately control the Iranian workers.

Japanese executives are very much concerned that Japanese engineers on the project are losing their zeal and have become very disinterested due to the coercive stance by the Iranian side.

Some young Japanese engineers said, "If the Iranians would put us on the blacklist for discharge, our parent firm might interpret the step as our own incapability, leading to an indelible stain on our name."

Meanwhile, the Iranians complain that they do not know what to do and that they have been waiting for a long time but there have been no jobs.

Some of them even said that construction materials, and fittings like desks are from Japan and that this means that Japan may colonize Iran.

The Japanese side has been making every effort to prepare for the 300 Japanese engineers who will be sent here by late May to resume the work.

But the Iranians believe that the Japanese may have a bad attitude since resumption of the work has been so long delayed.

As long as there is the gap in perception between the Japanese and Iranian workers, it is considered difficult to bring about mutual understanding necessary for accomplishing the difficult job.

CSO: 4920

## BRIEFS

**IRAN COMMUNICATIONS CENTER**--The governor of Khuzestan has ordered that the Isah Communications Center be closed. The order has been issued as the result of an investigation conducted at the center as well as documents proving the center's inefficiency. According to a report by a PARS correspondent, Mr. Seyyed Mohammad Gharazi, the governor of Khuzestan, issued this order at a meeting of the Khuzestan Coordination Center that was attended by a representative of the Presidential Coordinating Bureau and provincial representatives. The meeting was held at the Ahvas Oil Club. The order was issued following a number of complaints concerning the communications center. [GF111149 Ahvas Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 7 May 80 GF] The Telephone and Telegraph Communications Center at Isah has resumed operations. The center had been closed by the governor of Khuzestan. The Isah Communications Center has been connected with other Iranian cities due to the efforts of the Islamic society technical group. [GF181240 Ahvas Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 17 May 80 GF]

**ABADAN REFINERY**--Production distillation Unit No 85 has resumed operating at Abadan refinery. As a result, production at the refinery reached 370,000 barrels of oil today. This has been reported by the chief of the Abadan refinery in a telephone interview with a PARS correspondent. [GF111705 Ahvas Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 11 May 80 GF]

**JOVEYDI TELEVISION RELAY**--In a message to citizens of Ramhormuz, the Voice and Profile unit of the Islamic Republic in Ahvas has announced that the experimental television relay station located at Joveydi will begin strengthening the Voice and Profile of the Islamic Republic. Therefore, all Ramhormuz citizens are asked to turn their external antennas toward Joveydi. The Voice and Profile of the Islamic Republic asks Ramhormuz citizens to report any reception problems to this unit so they can be corrected. [GF111800 Ahvas Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 11 May 80 GF]

**ABADAN PORT**--Approximately 1,472 tons of goods have been loaded and 1,675 tons released at Abadan port during the past week. The Abadan port and shipping office has announced that no goods were shipped out of the port during the past week. The chief of the shipping office has said that no goods will be shipped out of the port this month to prevent 10,000-rial banknotes from entering or leaving the country. [GF131522 Ahvas Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 13 May 80 GF]

**ABADAN PETROCHEMICAL COMPLEX**--Production at the Abadan petrochemical complex has increased. In an interview with PARS News Agency today, the director of the plant announced that 2,300 tons of raw materials to make plastics, 800 tons of raw materials required to make detergents and 1,200 tons of [word indistinct] have been produced during the past month. This is a 40-percent increase over last month. The director concluded by saying that special plans and programs are currently underway to increase the production of raw materials needed to produce detergents by 30 percent. [GF131735 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 13 May 80 GF]

**SHADEGAN SPLIT**--The Khuzestan governor's office has announced that Shadegan District has been separated from Khorramshahr and is to become an independent city. [GF191830 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 19 May 80 GF]

**ANDIMESHK LAND TRANSFERS**--The Islamic Revolution Housing Center in Andimeshk has announced that all land transactions have been prohibited according to the order of the Revolution Council. Titles of ownership issued by former owners have no legal validity. It is also stated that violators will be severely punished. [Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 19 May 80 GF]

**CIGARETTES CONFISCATED**--The Public Relations Office of the Department of Tobacco Monopoly for Khuzestan Province has announced that 50,000 cigarettes have been seized in Ahvaz by police from Precinct No 5 and members of the Rut Abdollah Cendarmarie. The confiscated cigarettes have been handed over to the Khuzestan Department of Tobacco Monopoly. Two of the smugglers refused to pay the fine and have been handed over to the prosecutor's office. [GF201455 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1230 GMT 20 May 80 GF]

**WEAPONS CONFISCATED**--The Corps of the Revolution Guards in Kazerun has confiscated two Bren machineguns and 760 kg of bullets for Kalashnikov rifles found in a car. Reza Qoli Shamsoddini, the owner of the car, has been handed over to the Kazerun Islamic Revolution Court. [GF201455 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1400 GMT 19 May 80 GF]

**BANI-SADR TO HORMUZ MANEUVER**--AFP cites the Japanese KYODO News Agency as saying this morning that units of the U.S. naval force will carry out an 8-hour maneuver in the Hormuz Strait and the Persian Gulf. However, the commander of the Iranian naval base in Bandar 'Abbas and [as heard] north of Hormuz Strait said at 1200 today that he knows nothing about this U.S. maneuver. In a statement to the PARS News Agency, the commander said that so far, the patrols of the naval base in Bandar 'Abbas have not confirmed any reports on this maneuver. He added that the planes of the Iranian Air Force are observing the activities and movements of the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf. The commander of the naval base in Bandar 'Abbas said: Naval units of the army of the Islamic Republic of Iran will begin a 38-hour maneuver today in the Hormuz Strait in the direction of the Persian Gulf. President Dr Abolhasan Bani-Sadr will attend part of this maneuver. He added: A fleet of destroyers, gunboats equipped with rockets and guns, naval troop carriers and patrol boats will participate in this maneuver. [Text] [JN181835 Teheran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 18 May 80]



**EARTHQUAKE NEAR MASHHAD**—Tehran, May 19 (PARS News Agency)—An earthquake with an intensity of 5 degrees on Richter Scale shook southern cities of Khorasan Province, Gonbad and Qa'en yesterday at 11:12 a.m. Seismological Institution of Mashhad affiliated to Geophysical Institute of Tehran University has registered the earthquake in 266 kilometre south east of Mashhad base. No report of casualties or material damages was received here by 12 noon yesterday. [Text] (LD190940 Tehran PARS in English 0810 GMT 19 May 80)

CBO: 4920

## PROBLEMS TO BE INHERITED BY BEGIN'S SUCCESSOR DISCUSSED

Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 6 Apr 80 p 9

[Article by DAVAR correspondent Nahum Barnea: "Let's Assume That Begin Goes, So What?"]

[Text] The historian, Professor Ya'akov Talmon, published an article in the Passover eve edition of HA'ARETZ regarding our situation. The title of the article which was phrased as an open letter to Menachem Begin, was one of those dramatic titles which cannot be repeated, "The homeland is in danger." Talmon urged Begin through a series of weighty arguments to present his resignation to the president. Talmon wants Begin's resignation so much that he is willing to speak to Begin as "one historian to another," a compliment that those who read Begin's books ("The Revolt," "White Nights," "In the Underground") and his articles, would have a hard time sharing. He wants so much to share his fate with Begin, that he even needs to speak about the heart problems both of them have. "As one who shares your physical suffering, I allow myself to treat them as a public matter," writes Talmon. "Every heart patient is ill in his own way, but . . . it seems to me that your concentration on foreign affairs while neglecting all other pressing problems, is a function of the vulnerability and the fatigue of a heart patient . . . ."

Talmon apparently forgot that even before Begin had a heart problem, he concentrated only on one subject. With all the anxiety we experience sometimes due to the medical condition of the prime minister, I do not think it has anything to do with his lack of interest in social and economic problems. Without getting into this important discussion between two historians, I think it is not fair to blame everything on Begin's heart.

I assume that Begin and his government have honestly earned all the criticism they got lately. My fear is that putting all the blame on Begin's bent shoulders, plants the seeds for the confidence crisis of the next government. There is a dangerous illusion in the assumption inherent in many things which have been said and written lately, that the moment Begin resigns or is

replaced, the clouds would scatter, spring would come, and all our problems would be solved.

Twice since 1973 huge sections of public opinion built great expectations on the change of government, and twice there was great disappointment. I refer to the protest movements that sprang after the war, and caused the resignation of Golda Meir's government, and to the political changes in 1977. The disappointment with the new government quickly erased the great anger against the government which was removed. Golda and Rabin achieved public rehabilitation shortly after public opinion rejected them. It is possible that the Begin government would have the same happy-end.

The main problem of Israel is not Begin and his government, even though they do not function properly. Israel has a series of acute internal and external problems which did not come about with Begin, and which would not die when he is gone. These things are known, I will just mention some of the things which would make it difficult for the next government to function:

--As Kissinger and many others have said, Israel's foreign policy is its internal policy. Since 1967, and especially since 1973, the government determines its foreign policy in a desperate attempt not to make somebody angry. In other words, the righthand marker of the Israeli foreign ministry is Rabbi Levine. The American pressure which was so much criticized in the last 13 years never reached the effectiveness of one demonstration by the settlers. The settlements in the heart of India and Samaria did not start with the Begin government. It is even possible to commend the Begin government for its conduct in the case of Eilon-Moreh where it finally carried out its decision, in comparison with another case of Eilon-Moreh where the Alignment government did not do so.

If and when the Alignment would return to power, it is most probable that there would be further radicalization in the activities of the settlement lobby. It is less sure of the Alignment than it is of Begin and Sharon. I would be surprised if the next government would not be willing to pay a heavy price, in political positions and in settlements, to prevent Gush Danun and the likes of it from disturbing its peace. Talmon thinks, and I would like to agree with him on this point, that an Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders is maybe the beginning of a way out of the political entanglement. With all goodwill, I cannot see how the next government could strive for such a solution. I cannot see how the U.S. could impose, as Talmon wants, such a withdrawal on the government of Israel. It has already been said that a solution can only be imposed on a strong government.

--Lack of control on the economic and social policy. True, an annual inflation of three digits is an innovation of the Begin government, the result of the lack of experience and the irresponsibility of his ministers, but the difficulty experienced by the government in crystallizing a trustworthy policy on these issues is not a phenomenon that was born with the Likud government, and it would not go away when it goes. Even today when the

Alignment is in the opposition, it has a hard time presenting clear solutions to the economic problems we face. This would be twice as true when it encounters the great expectations and the pressures which would be put on it when it returns to power.

--The breaking-up of the political system. Even this process started long before Begin came to power, and it played an important role in the political turnabout of 1977. The old parties had dissolved, for better or for worse, and the rules of the game became unclear. Instead of loyalty of ministers and MKs to the party in whose name they were elected, we have people who are loyal only to themselves and to their own interests. With the lack of an organized electorate and a party machine, influence has switched from the party organs to the media, and from the center to the radicals on the left and on the right. One of the less dangerous results of this situation is the collective [liberalism] of the democratic movement of Yigael Yadin. In the long run, this process might be carrying with it the end of the democratic rules of the game. For the new prime minister, who would follow Begin, it means subjection to the moods and emotions of every minister and MK.

In theory, what we need now is a strong prime minister who would receive a strong mandate from the public, four years of grace to carry out a policy he believes in, but no. There might be a trap here out of which there is no way out. The strongest opponents of the present government, would be the first to oppose an authoritarian rule, and this writer would probably be one of them. We would have arguments to rely on. I still remember the strong words my teacher in the History Department in the Hebrew University, Professor Ya'akov Talmon, used against the authoritarian rule of Ben-Gurion.

Yes, the homeland is in danger, but sad as it is, there are no clear and secure solutions to this situation. The problem is not Begin, anyway it is not only Begin. It would stay with us when Begin goes and would accompany us when he writes his two history books on the holocaust and the [resurrection]. I just hope he will not have to write them in a reversed order.

For example, the present government is so sure that it has nothing to lose, that there might be a remote possibility that it would find the parliamentary majority not only to finish its present term, but also to extend it through an emergency of some sort. This is also an option.

9433

CSO: 4803



## CRITICISM LEVELLED AT LABOR PARTY

Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 10 Apr 80 p 9

[Article by S. Z. Abramov: "Accustoming People to Think in Terms of 'You Owe It to Me'"]

[Text] Now that Labor is demanding the sceptre of leadership, the public has a right to demand from it to define its future policy, meaning national goals as Labor sees them and the ways by which it plans to achieve them. The public has a right to know whether Labor plans to change its policy and use new ways to shape the economy and society. When Labor declares that it wants to restore the crown to its past splendor, it has to explain which "crown" it wants to restore: the one from the last years of its rule, or the one from the years of the fathers of the movement?

In its three years in the opposition, Labor did not give serious thought to these issues. There was no real attempt to examine the failures of the past in order to pave a new way. The economic plan which was presented to the Labor convention of September 1979 was actually a declaration of mental frost and of "restoring the crown to its original splendor." This plan promised that "We would fight inflation through agreements on profits, prices and taxes...." It said that "the real income of the worker would be protected," and made other similar superficial statements. One of the Labor leaders reached a new height when he promised the workers in production that "If they wanted, they would be able to work four hours in industry, and study four hours at the university."

This plan and everything that accompanied it were full of promises for a decade of prosperity, without even hinting as to the ways by which this prosperity would be achieved. Those to whom the promises were directed, were not asked to contribute anything. The leaders of the party were not aware that by presenting this "plan" they made it clear that they are not aware of current national goals and have no concrete plans to achieve them. In short, they have neither learned anything from their mistakes, nor have they forgotten anything.

It is the duty of the Labor party to clarify its positions, and to say how it sees the national goals today and how it wants to achieve them. To get from the abstract to the specific, we would mention the wrong distribution of the labor power in our country, as it existed at the end of the Labor rule. Only 33 percent of the workers were employed in industry and agriculture, compared to 48 percent in Japan and 51 percent in Sweden. The productivity of these 33 percent is not enough to secure a good economy. If we have achieved a standard of living which is quite high, it is only due to contributions from the outside.

It is clear then that the national goal with top priority is a correction of the distribution of labor power, and the transfer of workers from services to production.

### The Oppressive Mortgage

There is no magic cure to this illness, and the curing process might be painful. Labor caused the illness, but it did not do anything to cure it. The Rabin government decided to unite the collection agencies of social security and income tax, and thus eliminate a lot of unneeded jobs. But the decision was never carried out. Labor opposed giving the government the authority to collect health insurance payments for national health insurance, and thus prevented the elimination of the jobs of more than 1,000 unnecessary clerks in Kupat Holim (the health fund). But these are only examples, and not the most conspicuous ones, of the hidden unemployment which hurts on the people as an oppressive mortgage.

If Labor returns to power, would it fight this sickness even if it hurts and do something real to raise productivity? The problems of productivity and the work ethic are also connected with the concept of "working people." Productivity in Israel is going down in terms of percents compared to the European countries. In 1978, the value of production per worker reached 21,000 dollars in Germany and Belgium, 22,800 in Switzerland, 23,000 in Holland, and in Israel only 10,190 dollars. Part of this phenomenon can be blamed on bad management, but certainly the worker is also to blame.

Labor did not do anything significant to fight this sickness. The term productivity was not part of the vocabulary of the Histadrut and the trade unions. The attempts to base wages on productivity usually did not succeed, and the norms fixed were fictional. The attempts to correct them encountered the thick wall of the Histadrut.

No less serious is lawlessness at work. The strike has stopped being the weapon of the have-nots, and work interruptions which cause a lot of damage are used for every stupid reason. On 26 February 1980, the workers of Tadiran caused great disruptions at the plants, against the law and without the approval of the Histadrut, in order to make the company add milk to the coffee, stop asking for receipts for expenses, etc. The engineering workers in the ministry of communications started to interrupt work to achieve their

demands to use government vehicles on holidays and weekends and to abolish the limit on the number of kilometers they can travel in government vehicles for private use.

#### A Stay In A Luxury Hotel

A classical example of the rotten fruit of the "you owe it to me" approach is what happened in a plant of the workers' association called "Karmel Tanks." Seventy plant workers declared work disruptions because management refused to pay them and their wives for accommodations in a luxury hotel in Tiberias. The representative of the workers' association claimed that the cause for the disruptions was absurd and that there was no precedent to such a case. They demand that the company pay for a large part of their hotel expenditures in a luxury hotel! Nobody has ever heard that the workers in a Histadrut plant would give an ultimatum for accommodations for them and their wives in a luxury hotel, and threaten to shut down the plant gradually if this capricious demand is not met. The management announced that it was willing to subsidize accommodations in a less extravagant place, but the workers insisted on their demands, even at the price of ruining the plant.

This is only one example out of many to the lawlessness which is the result of the "you owe it to me" policy. This lawlessness has deeply hurt public morale, and can hurt the labor party itself. As MK Dvora Namir said on 16 May 1979: "Socialist parties lose power because of the betrayal of the workers who got fantastic benefits."

9433

CSO: 4803

## POLL ON FOREIGN MINISTER CHOICE

Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 13 May 80 p 2

[Article by Mark Segal: "Eban and Herzog Soar as Choice for Foreign Minister"]

[Text]

TEL AVIV. — Abba Eban and Chaim Herzog showed dramatic gains in popularity in The Jerusalem Post's latest poll. The poll for the month of May also showed there was a significant shift from the "undecided" category to Labour.

In answer to a question on who is best suited to be foreign minister, Eban moved to top place with 33.1 per cent, followed by Moshe Dayan with 18.9 per cent and Herzog, who soared to 14.7 per cent from nil. The incumbent minister, Yitzhak Shamir, placed a lowly fourth with 8.8 per cent.

There was little change in the standings for defence minister or finance minister.

The poll was conducted by the Mod'ia Shrochl applied research centre among a representative selection of 1,000 adults.

As to the defence portfolio, pollster Amiram Yarkoni said Weizman's slight dip in popularity was matched by a similar rise in Sharon's curve.

Regarding the finance ministry, Yarkoni said that after Horvitz's start at 47.1 per cent in November, rising to 50.5 per cent in January —

the highest ever for finance minister — he had dropped to 48.9 per cent in April, with a slight improvement this month.

Q. Who is best suited to be foreign minister?

	May %	April %
Abba Eban	33.1	18.9
Moshe Dayan	18.9	20.0
Chaim Herzog	14.7	—
Yitzhak Shamir	8.8	9.0
Shay Weizman	8.8	9.0
Yitzhak Rabin	5.7	5.0
Shimon Peres	—	1.8
Yigael Yadin	—	1.1
Others	5.1	5.1
Undecided	19.9	42.1

Q. Who is best suited to be defence minister?

	%	%
Weizman	48.9	48.9
Artal Sharon	17.7	15.1
Dayan	9.9	9.9
Rabin	9.9	9.9
Haim Bar-Lev	9.9	1.9
Peres	9.9	9.9
Mordechai Gur	1.9	1.9
Others	9.9	9.9
Undecided	20.9	20.9

Q. Who is best suited to be finance minister?

	%	%
Yigael Horvitz	48.7	50.5
Yakov Levinsky	9.9	9.9
Gad Ya'acobi	1.9	1.9
Eliezer Shorish	1.9	1.9
Others	9.9	9.9
Undecided	20.9	24.9



## MODA'I OUTLINES ISRAELI LIBERAL PARTY GUIDELINES

TA101432 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1200 GMT 10 May 80

[Interview with Yitzhaq Moda'i, Liberal Party Presidium head and energy and infrastructure minister by Shim'on Ayalon, time and place not given--recorded]

[Text] [Moda'i] This [Liberal Party] convention has certainly expressed a very clear view that: Number one, the Likud is the body in which the Liberal Party will operate for the time to come; number two is that the Likud will not enable--and the Liberal Party within the Likud--will stand firm so [words indistinct] business of the autonomy will never ever turn into a Palestinian state. We stand behind the settlements very clearly, wherever we feel--we Israelis feel--they are necessary for our security. It is not a question of a majority and a minority, even if the minority feels it is necessary, vital for the security, we will establish them.

So you see that all we have done is, we have taken some of the major patterns of the Liberal Party and put some stresses on them in this convention, that suits very much my thought also about where the Liberal Party should go.

[Question] Various public opinion polls that have been taken recently in Israel, correctly or incorrectly, show a picture that Mr Begin basically at the head of the Likud is somewhat of a liability for a party which, without him, would probably make a much better standing in the next polls. How does this specific viewpoint as expressed by the polls impress you?

[Answer] Not at all. I don't think polls elect anybody. I tell you that in my humble view, without taking polls but talking to people, listening to people, this coalition has got a very good chance to come to office again. It is premature, granted, but it has a very good chance and it has this chance when having at its head Menahem Begin as the prime minister.

## 'HA'ARETZ' COMMENTS ON IDF OPERATIONS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON

TA201237 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 20 May 80 p 11

[Commentary by Ze'ev Schiff: "The Commando Attack"]

[Text] Since the terrorist infiltration into kibbutz Migav 'Am, the IDF has launched a new offensive against the terrorists in southern Lebanon, both north and south of the Litani River. If we judge its results to date, this is a successful offensive. It bears the mark of Chief of Staff Eytan. The methods and tactics are typical of the man and his operational thought processes and all the signs show that he himself is involved in the detailed planning of each one of these operations. The series of actions have already begun to leave their mark. Apart from a quite considerable number of terrorist losses, there are reports that the terrorists in southern Lebanon are concerned and tense.

At night they shut themselves up in their bases, waste resources on defense and are bogged down in mutual recriminations. This assault is not sufficient to prevent operations against Israel, but it is an important step in deterring the other side.

In the past, too, Israel hit hard at the terrorists in southern Lebanon, after they had carried out a daring act of murder in Israel. After the bus massacre on the coastal road, Israel went and launched the Litani operation. After the murder of Haren and his daughters in Nahariyya, the IDF launched an assault focused mainly around continuous aerial operations and heavy shelling. These two assaults were in fact stopped following U.S. political pressure. What characterizes the current offensive is a series of commando operations. These operations are carried out by various elite units: The naval commandos and others.

The operations carried out up to now show a high level of professionalism in the campaigns, superb, cautious planning and the wisdom of the commanders working in the field. It is clear that such an offensive has no chance of success without good intelligence: Operational intelligence streaming in quickly and the intelligence derived from correctly analysing the intentions of the terrorists and their commanders, and their reactions. This is an

almost basic condition for the success of such a commando assault. There is no point in going out and taking the risk of sending small units into enemy territory without knowing in advance what the terrorists are doing at the objectives and without knowing that assaulting the place will indeed produce results.

But good operations intelligence is not enough. What is no less important is that the information should quickly reach operational levels up to the chief of staff without being held up and that the orders from the senior level should be translated into immediate preparations and performance. If time is wasted on protracted preparations, training with models and prior patrols--it is almost certain that the intelligence will lose its immediacy, the terrorists will leave for somewhere else and so on. It is clear that the units which acted in southern Lebanon are in a high state of alert.

The first campaign, on 17 April, was described by Lieutenant General Eytan as a hunting operation--"we found a bird and caught it." The invaders came in a boat, from the sea. They attacked, with complete surprise, a base of Jibril's personnel and other terrorists and blew up two buildings, with their inhabitants, after they had killed the guards outside. From terrorist reports it was possible to learn that they had 17-20 fatalities. Several of them were sent to Iraq for burial.

The second operation bore an entirely different character and it, too, took the terrorists by surprise. Two forces of naval commandos landed in two places on the Lebanese coast. One force eliminated a terrorist squad patrolling the coastal region, the second force acted on the main road south of Beirut, in the Damur area. This road is quite busy even during the late night hours. A superior ability to make identifications was needed in order to actually hit terrorist vehicles, not civilian ones. After that it emerged that two Fatah officers were among the people killed in vehicles.

The third campaign, at the end of last week, again had a different character and it also took the terrorists by surprise. This time the IDF spokesman's announcement did not detail what our forces did or did not do in the field. It was decided, and rightly so, to issue battle orders and so confusion increased among the terrorist organizations. From the various details published by the news agencies and from what the terrorists themselves announced, it emerges that on that same night IDF forces acted in at least four places: In the coastal region in the west and also in the eastern sector near al-Nabatiyyah. That same night, according to the news agencies, the IDF forces acted from helicopters and also from gun boats.

The terrorists said that most of their losses were caused by the explosion of a "booby trap" dropped from an Israeli helicopter near Tyre. What they are in the habit of doing to their civilians and children happened to them themselves. From what they said it emerges that terrorists belonging to

al-Sa'iqah found communications equipment was taken to their command post, where it exploded and killed many people.

The angry reaction by the terrorists was to be expected. They subjected the enclave villages, both Christian and Shi'ite, to a heavy shelling and also sent shells "feelers" to the Galilee panhandle region. However, over and beyond the reaction of anger and revenge for their losses, it is worth noticing their political objective. The terrorists have learned from the past that it is only U.S. political pressure that leads to a stop in military attacks by Israel. This pressure is created as soon as Washington fears that the incidents will escalate to include large-scale land operations, clashes between the IDF and the Syrian Army and heavy losses among the civilian population. Israel is not deterred by UN resolutions and, in fact, pays no attention to them. What does diminish and eliminate its attacks is pressure from Washington.

The difficulty, from the terrorists' viewpoint, is that a commando attack is by its nature an attack with a low military profile.

This is why U.S. elements have also shown understanding of this sort of Israeli action. In the past they have expressed their opposition to the use of planes against the terrorists.

Because of this it may be expected that the terrorists' reaction to the IDF commando attack will be, apart from sending more murder squads, an attempt to cause a military escalation on the northern border. This may be achieved through heavy shellings of the enclave villages and Israeli settlements; causing the IDF to use greater fire power, even at such towns as Tyre. Such an expansion is what would, in their opinion, lead the United States to put new pressure on Israel to stop the offensive, to which the terrorists are finding it hard to find any other answer.

CSO: 4805



**'HA'ARETZ' CONSIDERS SINAI ISSUES STILL UNRESOLVED**

YAI61227 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 16 May 80 pp 13, 20

[Commentary by Ze'ev Schiff: "A Strange Thing is Happening in Sinai"]

[Text] It is hard to believe that the Egyptian authorities have a hand in the smuggling of arms and commanders of the terrorist organizations via Sinai into Gaza. For several months now smugglers have been infiltrating, either on foot or on camels, from Sinai to Gaza. They carry various weapons with them in order to establish a new terrorist infrastructure. It is also hard to conceive that the Egyptians had anything to do with the briefings given at the PLO office in ('Adali) Street in Cairo to those terrorists who were later to infiltrate into the Gaza Strip. It is a fact that the Egyptian security services supervise everything in Egypt and an event such as that at the Fatah office in ('Adali) Street is not usually missed by their observant eyes.

Let us assume that the Egyptian security police really did miss what went on at the Fatah office in ('Adali) Street. However, it is even stranger that despite the fact that this has been known to them for several weeks they are not taking any action or reacting to official complaints and publications in Israel. This is not a coincidence and something one cannot ignore.

When a "problem" like this is revealed there are those among us who are immediately prepared to come to Egypt's defense. If the Egyptians are not in order they [in Israel] view this as if it was their own failure. Sometimes they look for and find reasons and excuses to explain that the fault really lies with Israel...this happened, for example, over the issue of the deployment of Egyptian brigades in a greater number than permitted by the agreement for an area close to the Suez Canal. One cannot assume that the Egyptians intentionally wish to violate the military agreement in Sinai, but with respect to the introduction of too many brigades something strange is happening.

We "explain" the Egyptians and it appears that the job of spokesman for Egypt has been transferred to the Israeli Defense Ministry. The Israeli

explanation "on Egypt's behalf" was that the Egyptian Army had moved less tanks into the region than the amount permitted by the agreement. This was, in fact, true but from the explanation given one could deduce that they were permitted to maintain more brigades in Sinai. The explanation should have been given by the Egyptians and not by us (by the way, the explanation was not acceptable to the professionals in the army). Instead of requesting an explanation from the Egyptians we asked ourselves how details of this violation leaked out and reached the Israeli public. By the way, these violations are still going on today.

During a check of what the U.S. aerial photographs of Sinai showed, taken in accordance with the Camp David agreements, it transpired that the situation was very strange. According to the agreement the Americans have to supply the photographs to both sides. It transpired that for some reason Israel had stopped receiving the American aerial shots of Sinai. I found out that Defense Minister 'Ezer Weizman had conceded on receiving the American photographs during a conversation he had with (former) Egyptian Defense Minister General 'Ali.

By this move, Weizman wanted to emphasize his trust in his Egyptian colleague. 'Ali accepted Weizman's gesture willingly and with pleasure. However, he did not make a parallel concession. The Egyptians continue to receive the American photographs.

It is true that Israel can know what is happening on the Egyptian side of Sinai without the American photographs, but without them it is much more difficult. Any military expert will tell you that without the photographs, obtaining a full picture of what is going on in Sinai is much more complicated. And why make things difficult? In the final analysis we are not talking about relations between Weizman and 'Ali, but about relations between Israel and Egypt. In any case, with the recent changes in the Egyptian Government 'Ali no longer serves as defense minister. It is worth noting that since the beginning of the peace negotiations three generals have served as defense minister in Egypt. At any rate, it is clear that Israel will find it harder to obtain information on what is going on in Sinai as the gap between the IDF and the Egyptian Army increases. That which can be achieved today through observation posts and other measures will be unobtainable in the future.

I do not know if the Israeli Government has discussed the concession on the U.S. photographs or whether it agreed to this. Any change in this matter today could be damaging to the defense minister's prestige. However, it appears that there is no other choice. Just as the defense minister decided to reverse a decision of the chief of staff (for example, when the minister felt that the chief of staff had promised things to the settlers that he was not entitled to promise, he came out with an official announcement about the change), so the government can, if it finds it necessary, change Weizman's promise to 'Ali and again request the American photographs.

One should point out that the Egyptians have not been showing this kind of generosity where Israeli photographs are concerned. During Deputy Defense Minister Mordekhay Talpori's visit to Egypt, the Egyptians were furious when they thought that Brig Gen Tavi Schiller--a senior intelligence officer in the Israeli entourage--was taking as many pictures as he pleased in the Aswan area. They spared no complaints. Several weeks prior to that, when General 'Ali visited Israel, the military photographer who accompanied the Egyptian minister was allowed to photograph freely during the Egyptian's visit to the Kfir aircraft production line.

The photographers also took an unlimited number of pictures afterward from the airport veranda, during the reception in honor of the minister, which was attended by the top IDF command staff. In Israel, the pictures of many senior Israeli officers are censored. I assume the Egyptian photographer and his supervisors were astonished by the laxity of the Israelis' security measures. Indeed, these measures were very limited and were only applied at the very last moment. As far as field security is concerned, this was definitely a grave mistake and set a bad example.

But this did not end the series of strange events in the Sinai of which the public should be made aware. Even though several months have elapsed since Israel withdrew to the al-'Arish-ra's Muhammad line, the parties have not yet signed a military supervision agreement. Former Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan said that, in his opinion, Israel should not withdraw to the al-'Arish line before the supervision agreement is formulated and signed. It is a pity that Dayan did not veto this at the time.

At any rate, the withdrawal was carried out, but there is no agreement. For several months now talks on this matter have been underway in Israel, Cairo and Washington. The Israelis--of all people--have been promising for months that the matter would be concluded in a matter of days, but nothing has. In his last trip to Egypt, 'Ezer Weisman was supposed to discuss this issue again with President al-Sadat, but it seems that the issue was once again pushed to the side. One gets the feeling that there is an Israeli Government conspiracy to keep silent about this.

It is true that, for the moment, there is no cause for concern. The supervision of the buffer zone is being carried out as usual and the Americans have begun supervising the areas adjacent to the canal as well (albeit without transferring the photographs to us). But the comprehensive supervision agreement deals with the establishment of either a UN or an international force after Israel completes its withdrawal from the Sinai; that is a force that, according to the Camp David agreements, must be stationed in that part of Sharm al-Shaykh and the Rafah approaches region from where the Israeli settlements will be removed. The United Nations does not want to participate in establishing such a force, and the U.S. President finds it difficult to establish an alternative international force.

The situation gets even more complicated because the United States is not too eager to participate in the multipartite force that is to be established

in the future. It appears that the negotiations have quite often been conducted in an extraordinary fashion and that not all the pertinent elements in Israel who should have been party to the discussions were brought into it and did not receive the necessary overall information. Thus, for example, the government legal adviser did not always receive all the necessary information concerning the negotiations on the supervision agreement.

As things stand now, Israel continues to claim that the supervision agreement (namely, the establishment of some sort of international force) should be in effect before Israel implements the last stage of the withdrawal from the Sinai; in other words, no withdrawal before the establishment of the force and the signing of the treaty. The Egyptians maintain that Israel's commitment to withdraw to the international borders has nothing to do with the supervision agreement or the establishment of an international force that will supervise the agreement in the Sinai. The IDF has to withdraw regardless of whether such a force is established or not.

The commitment to withdraw, according to Egypt, is in return for the peace Egypt granted Israel. As usual, people here are already talking about the need to give up the establishment of an international force, because this is peace. What is interesting is that when the reference is to U.S.-Soviet relations and bilateral agreements, all of a sudden supervision is very important. On the other hand, when the reference is to Israel's sensitive security matters, then the argument is that "the IDF is so strong" that it does not need all this.... It looks as though one is offering to give up the doors to his house and the walls of his home town--including its policemen and laws--on the assumption that man is by nature good.

This is another minefield in the Sinai. While we are deliberating the security matters in Judea and Samaria, the Sinai security issues have not yet been properly solved. It is a shame that the government is not aware of this.

CSO: 4805



SOVIET DELEGATION ON OLYMPIC GAMES, RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

TA191132 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 19 May 80 p 3

[Article by Teddy Preuss: 'Moscow Is Waiting With Best Wishes for You To Win Medals']

[Text] The Soviet delegation visiting Israel in behalf of the Israel-Soviet Union Friendship League this year includes (Vladimir Karpov) (chairman), secretary to the Authors' Union; the composer (Jan Frankel) and the NOVOSTI correspondent (Yuri Mikhayev).

[Question] What is the substance [last word in English] of the friendship with the Soviet Union in the framework of the league?

[Karpov] There are contacts all the time and we have come to refresh old links and foster new ones. At an authors' congress held in the Soviet Union, I met Mordekhay Avi-Sha'ul and (Mahmud Darvish) and I have come to renew the acquaintance. Many of us have acquaintances here and this is apart from links of culture, sport and other delegation, including the parliamentary delegation that visited Moscow.

[Question] You mentioned sports meetings. Three years ago the (Cheska) group refused to play against Maccabi Tel Aviv and host it in Moscow. One of the games was canceled and the other was held in Belgium.

[Karpov] I have not heard of that incident.

[Question] You did not come to the Haifa chess olympics (as a result of that, the United States won the world championship).

[Karpov] I do not remember, but if we had come, we would have won.

[Question] Undoubtedly, and so there was amusement at the fact that you did not come. In this way you also set a precedent of mixing sports and politics, a boomerang now working against you with regard to the Olympics.

[Karpov] Why are you asking us?

[Question] Because Gromyko has not come here; if he were to come, I would ask him.

[Karpov] He would send you to the chairman of the sports authority and the shah. (as published)

[Yuri Mikhayev] Who says that those incidents sprang from political reasons? Everybody in Moscow is now waiting for all the delegations, including the Israeli. We have prepared an Israeli flag, the orchestra has learned to play your anthem and we wish you to win medals. But if you do not appear, you will not be punishing us. It is in your interest to appear. Reasoning of the sort, "You did not come and so I will not go," is not to the point.

[Question] What about the other participants? Many countries, including the United States, will be absent.

[Mikhayev] It will be very regrettable if they do not come to an event intended to be a demonstration of good spirit and friendship. If the powerful Americans are absent, it will, of course, be regrettable, but 50 countries have said that they are coming and many others are still considering appearing. Even the Americans may change their minds and come under the flag of the Olympic Committee, or in some other informal way. The president of the International Olympic Committee, Lord Killanin, has expressed great horror at the possibility of a rift in sport because of Carter's wish to decrease the scope of detente. Earlier you asked why there are not many Israel-Soviet Union relations and here you are hesitating about whether to come. We are interested (in Israel coming).

[Question] May we understand from what you say that in the future more relations will be fostered than there are today?

[Mikhayev] Nobody knows what will happen after the Olympics, but if Israel does not want to participate in a multinational framework, why are you concerned about bilateral relations afterward?

[Question] The "Olympic degeneration" began after the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Looking backward, when you weigh up the assets and losses you have made, was the intervention worthwhile?

[Mikhayev] The Soviet leadership undoubtedly gave careful consideration to the need to intervene, but boycotting the Olympics is not a result of Afghanistan. It is a continuation of the Carter line for undermining detente: His refusal to approve SALT II and his decision to station ballistic missiles on European ground (while cheating his European partners) preceded Afghanistan. We put a part of the Red Army into Afghanistan at the request of the government and people in Kabul, as a counter to gangs that had been trained by the Americans and Chinese and infiltrated into Afghanistan. Pakistan President Ziaul Haq did nothing to prevent the gangs' activities and so we were forced to intervene.

[Karpov] At least nobody in our country can say that we acted from electoral considerations, as Carter is acting....

[Question] If Israel goes to the Olympics, would this be a basis for broader contacts?

[Mikhayev] We said that there have been broad contacts and we gave a group of Israelis an official invitation to visit the Soviet Union. We, too, have been invited to come here by many circles and groups. But our journalists and intellectuals who wanted to come here were not permitted to enter. There were groups that did not want to meet us and journalists who refused to come to a meeting with us. So you say, who is more interested in maintaining relations?

[Question] It appears to me that we are. You yourself said that you have been invited to many places. Israelis, for their part, find it almost impossible to receive visas for the Soviet Union. During last fall's UN Assembly, Foreign Minister Dayan asked to meet your Minister Gromyko and his request was turned down.

[Mikhayev] I have no knowledge of the Dayan-Gromyko matter, but let it be absolutely clear and let there be no room for misunderstandings. The Soviet Union has no preconceived notions against Israel and it wants Israel to exist. It wants a renewal of diplomatic relations with you, as soon as the misunderstandings that caused the severance of the relations are dissipated. The Soviet Union takes into consideration the interests of all the area's peoples and Israel must exist within secure, recognized borders. The same applies to the Palestinians. Your refusal to recognize the rights of the Palestinian nation is the obstacle to peace. Today more and more people in Israel and in the world (for instance the position of the nine members of the EEC and President Giscard's statements about self-determination for the Palestinians) recognize that without rights for the Palestinians, no peace is possible in the area--a place needed by both Israel and the Arabs.

[Question] Would links between Israel and the Soviet Union not make it easier to find a just solution to the problems in the area?

[Mikhayev] What can a dialog with the Begin government do? When MK's Avraham Melamed and Yosef Sarid were in Moscow, we held a dialog with them. A senior member of the Supreme Soviet Presidium spoke with them, but with Begin?

[Question] You are negotiating with Carter who, according to you, foiled SALT II, and with the PLO, which is demanding Israel's annihilation. According to the Soviet Union's official position regarding the existence of Israel, it has no common ground with the PLO but you are always speaking with it in a friendly manner.

[Mikhayev] You are not prepared to speak with the Palestinians. You did not want to go to Geneva and even Shimon Peres is opposed to a state and

self-determination for the Palestinians. So there is really not much to speak about.

[Question] Your refusal to hold a dialog with the Labor Party and with other parties that do not agree with Begin and his policy contradicts the theses of Marx and Lenin, that there should be cooperation with progressive elements in the opponent's camp.

[Mikhayev] No, I do not think that there is any anti-Leninist basis here. We maintain close contact with parties with whom we have a common basis (Rahav), but with the other parties, there is not a sufficient basis for a dialog.

[Question] And with the PLO there is, although it is demanding the destruction of Israel?

[Karpov] Are you representing Begin?

[Question] No.

[Karpov] Then that is not honest; you are not prepared to represent Begin, but you want us to represent the PLO?!

CSO: 4803

MANIFESTO CRITICIZES 'EXTREMISTS' FOR 'DISTORTING' ZIONISM

YA200852 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 20 May 80 Holiday Supplement  
p 32

[Manifesto addressed to Begin's government, published as an advertisement]

[Text] Their way is not our way.

Extremists among the public and within the government, led by religious and secular nationalism, are distorting the path of Zionism and endangering its realization. They are partners in perpetuating the vicious circle of extremism and violence that feed one another.

--Their way endangers Israel, isolates it and undermines the moral basis for our demands for a life of peace and security.

--Their way is conducive to the disintegration of the Jewish people, it drives away friends and strengthens the extremists among our enemies.

--Their way undermines the agreement on what we fight and die for.

--Their way is the way of violence and insensibility.

--Their way is a street without end!

The Jewish people want to safeguard their physical existence, to build a sovereign Jewish society and to establish a center for spiritual and social creation in the state of Israel.

The peace is needed to fully realize this vision.

--Our way is the way of striving toward peace and security through a compromise and the partition of Eretz Yisra'el.

--Our way is the way of coexistence and tolerance.

--Our way is the way of uniting the people around its Jewish-humanitarian heritage.



At this time, whoever's way is like our way should stand up and step forward. We will set up a barrier in front of the wave of nationalism and we will return to the high-road of Zionism.

[Signed] Avigur Dubi, Avidan Shim'on, Avi'ad Janette, Agmon Ya'akov, Agasi Yosef, Adler Hayim, Ofir 'Adi, Ofir Ayelet, Orgler Ya'ir, Oron Hayim, Adan Avraham (Bren), Edri Rafi, Una Moshe, Etinger Shmuel, Atax 'Imanu'el, Eisenstadt Shmuel N., Eylon 'Amos, Ilta Hayim, Itay Hanan, [MK] Aloni Shulamit, Alima, Alexander Shlomo, Elqana Yehuda, Elqana Yehudit, El'azar Talma, [MK] Amoray 'Adi, Antonovski Aharon, Antonovski Hellen, Akerman Walter, Ardon Mikha'el, Ari'an Ashar, Bauer Yehuda, Babli Dan, Birger Rivqa, Bachrach Tavi, Blumenthal Elhanan, Banor Dan, Benbenisti Miron, Ben-Ari Yaron, Ben-Artai Yosi, Ben-Ze'ev Moshe, Ben-Tovim Yoram, Ben-Moshe Naftali, Ben-Forat Yorma, Ben-Forat 'Amihud, Ben-Tavi Nahum, Bar-Yosef Rivqa, [MK and secretary general of the Labor Party] Bar-Lev Hayim, Bar-Lev 'Amar, [MK] Berglass Eytan, Bar-On Mordekhay, Brewer Moshe, Baron Mikha'el, Bartov Hanokh, Brinker Menahem, Barenblum Yitzhaq, [MK] Bar'am 'Usi, Brenner Gary, Barqay Hayim, Bernatein Uri, Bernatein Yo'el, Gvati Hayim, Golan Galya, Goetfreund Hanokh, Corni Yosef, Gild David, Globerson Arye, Galnor Yitzhaq, Gravestaki 'Amos, Gronau Re'uven, Grossman Avishay, [MK] Grossman Haya, Gertner Arye, Gertner Dan, Grinstein Avi, Grinberg Rafi, Granot Yosi, Gat Hana, Gat Yo'el, Dvoretzki Arye, Doljenski Rina, Dultsin Annette, Dor Moshe, Horovitz Dan, Hirsh Ze'ev, Har'even Aluf, Har'even Shulamit, Harkabi Yehoshafat, [MK] Herlitz Ester, Harari Mikha, Wallach Yona, Werblowski Tavi, Wago Bella, Wisaltir Me'ir, Vital David, Weiss Yoram, Vilan Abu, Weinberg Yesha'yahu, Weimer Re'uven, [MK] Virshupski Mordekhay, Vardimon Orgad, [MK] Wertheimer Stef, Zakh Natan, Zamir Tavi, Hasin Eliyahu, [MK] Harish Mikha, Hashin Rut, Taub Yitzhaq, [MK] Toledano Shmuel, Talmon Ya'akov, Trainin Avner, Yedidya Mikhal, Yadin Aharon, Yehonatan Natan, Yungman 'Ofel, Yisre'eli Yosef, [MK] Ya'akov Gad, Ya'ari Yehuda, Ya'ari Menahem, Yerushalem 'Amram, Kagan Rachel, Kohen Arik, Kohen Gabi, Kohen Ya'akov, Kohen Ran, Kokhav David, Kass Tavi, Krif Mikha'el, Kafkafi Eyal, Katz Elihu, Katz Rut, Kasher Asa, Lev Barukh, Lev-Tsiyon Nehemya, Luv Sidney, Lubin Orli, Levyatan Nisan, Levi Yosi, Levinger Ya'akov, Lazar, Libman Yesha'yahu, Livne Tavi, Litani Yehuda, Leidner Gil, Lisk Moshe, Lifshitz Uri, Leqet Yehi'el, Ma'or Uri, [MK] Mo'av Bo'az, Moshevitz David, Mitelfunkht Rilel, Mikha'eli Mikha'el, Miron Stanley, Mirski Nili, Miehori Bilu, Meniv Asher, Maskin Amnon, Marciano Yosef, Nevo Natan, Nevo Rut, Nitzan 'Omri, Nir Tavi, Segal Binyamin, Sobol Yehoshua, Soltman Mikha'el, Sivan 'Amram, Sivan 'Imanu'el, Siton Dov, Silver Brian, Simon Uri'el, Simon 'Aqiva Ernest, Simonson Shlomo, Sela' Amnon, Sand Alexander, Sand Yonat, Sarna Yig'al, 'Oz 'Amos, 'Ofel Gur, 'Ofel Pini, 'Ofel Shim'on, [MK] 'Ateah Zaydan, 'Amar Moshe, 'Amihay Yehuda, 'Amir 'Aliza, 'Atsmon Ya'el, 'Eran 'Amos, Padan 'Omri, Feder Naftali, Porat Amir, Patenkin Dan, Pilosof Avi, Peleg Dov, Peled El'ad, Peled Natan, Pelder David, [former MK] Pa'il Me'ir, Papo Eli'ezer, Praver Yehoshua, Frumachenko Dani, Friedman William, Frankel Yonatan, Zuker Dadi, Tzur Ya'akov, Tzur Miki, Tsiyon Nisim, Qadishman Menashe, Kotler 'Oded, Qol Yitzhaq, Qol Moshe, Qolodni Yeshu'a, Klein Claude, Klir Shim'on, Kaniuk Yoram, Rabinowitz Ben, Rabinovitz Dalia, Regev Yosef, Radushitzki Yoram, [MK] Rubinstein Amnon,

Rosen Shlomo, Rosenfeld Henry, [MK] Ron Imri, Ron Arza, Rotloy Ya'ir, Raz Naftali, Rasin Asaf, Reichman Uri'el, Refa'el Amnon, Refa'el Gid'on, Reshef Asher, Shalti'el Eli, Shavit Dan, Shohat Avraham, Shoken Hilel, Shoken 'Amos, Sternhall Ze'ev, Shitrit Shim'on, Shechter Yo'el, Shechter Chela, Shim'oni Eli, Shamesh Moshe, [MK] Shem-Tov Victor, Shamir Shim'on, Shapira Elisha', Shapira 'Amos, Shapira Rina, Shafer Yosef, [MK] Sarid Yosi, [MK] Talmi Na'ir, Tamir Ya'el.

CSO: 4805

# CHIEF RABBI DECRIES LAND CONCESSIONS, ASSESSES OWN LEADERSHIP

Tel Aviv HATZOFEN in Hebrew 31 Mar 80 p 3

[Interview with Israel's Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren by Shaul Schiff: "Land of Israel is One Entity and Cannot Be Divided or Split; To Be Redeemed Means Above All to Believe in and Be Proud of Our Just Cause; To Believing Jew Land of Israel is the Foundation of Faith and Torah; Assumption that through Territorial Concessions We Shall Achieve Peace with All Arab States is Extremely Dangerous; It is Expected that Chief Rabbinate Will Start Vigorous Phase in Its Work; The Chief Rabbinate Has Become Largest Center in Jewish World for Determining Halakhah Through Response; Law is Needed to Deal with Fraud in Dietary Practices"]

[Text] In an emotional outburst, Israel's Chief Rabbi Shlomo Goren got up and started pacing the room, taking one book after another off the shelves to prove that "the land of Israel cannot be divided."

He was responding to a question on statements made by Great Britain's chief rabbi, Dr Immanuel Jakobovits.

Rabbi Goren went from one bookshelf to another, looking up early and later sources, Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, and presented the halakhic conception of the question of the integrity of the Land of Israel, refuting any idea or decision, as it were, which calls for yielding any part of the Land of Israel.

In general, Rabbi Goren is encouraged by the activities of the Chief Rabbinical Council. On his desk, there are plans for action on deepening the council's involvement in the life of the people of Israel and the Jewish people abroad.

Passover, of course, is also known as the Feast of Freedom. But to us, it seems that this year's holiday does not show signs of freedom in the economic and political spheres. What is the message of the Chief Rabbi at a time like this to the people of Israel here and abroad?

## National Freedom and Spiritual Freedom

Passover, described as "The Season of Our Liberation," was intended from the start to serve as a paradigm and an incentive for future redemption. The liberation from Egypt is twofold: physical and spiritual. It is written, "As in the days of your going out of Egypt, I will show you wonders," and, therefore, the foundations of future redemption should be based upon physical redemption through the ingathering of the exiles and the establishment of Israel's independence in its own land, as well as spiritual redemption. The liberation from Egypt was from the beginning contingent upon spiritual redemption, as it is written: "And this is your sign...when you take the people out of Egypt, you will worship God on this mountain."

We celebrate Passover not only because of the past. Granted, there is no other event in Jewish history which is discussed as much or occupies as prominent a place in the Torah as the exodus from Egypt. The exodus is mentioned explicitly 50 times in the Torah, as indicated in the Zohar, in the section of Jethro, and according to Rabbi Goren 90 times, as well as an even greater number of indirect references. All of this is meant as a paradigm for the future, to teach us the order of the third redemption.

Indeed, in the exodus from Egypt everything did not go so smoothly either. The integration of physical and national freedom on the one hand and spiritual freedom on the other, took place in close succession by the receiving of the Torah at Mount Sinai, which gave the people the spiritual dimension immediately upon receiving the national dimension. But soon after there was a great decline in both dimensions. It seems as though it was difficult for the people to return to its original level of spiritual freedom in the sense of "I will fill the place that is laid waste." If this waste place were filled as taught by the sages in the Talmud, Peakhim 42b, that is, if they managed to uphold their national freedom, then there would be a decline in their spiritual freedom, and vice versa. It is difficult to find a case in Jewish history of a simultaneous significant flourishing of both dimensions.

As for our own time, it seems that we too are undergoing this process. From the beginning of our national liberation to this day, we have had ups and downs in both dimensions, but we have not been able to rise simultaneously in both national and spiritual dimensions. We have had a severe crisis in both. What we need today is walk tall, which is the primary condition for redemption at all time.

At first it seemed, and is only natural to expect it, that when we made peace with the largest Arab state after 30 years of war and bloodshed with all the Arab states, that now, having made peace with the country which has been our number one enemy from the beginning of time, a dramatic change would take place in the morale of our people, who would now take pride in the accomplishments of the state and the strengthening of its existence



and its future. But, sad to relate, we are seeing the opposite. At no other time in the past has our morale been so low; at no other time have we been so bowed down and divided among ourselves as we are today.

The countries which are friendly toward us should have also appreciated our efforts and our contribution toward achieving peace in the region. Our great concessions to Egypt should have awakened their feelings of friendship toward us. But, to our surprise, the opposite is happening. We are left with hardly any political support and we cannot rely on anyone except our Heavenly Father, as taught in the Mishnah regarding the Footsteps of the Messiah, and on the loyalty of the Jewish people abroad.

We need to conduct a thorough study on the reasons for this phenomenon. Why, at the peak of our accomplishments we are losing the spiritual underpinning for our rights and the national, spiritual, and historical basis for our patrimony? This is nothing but masochism which appears at this time without any justification.

The urgent task which we must pursue is stand firm and be strong as we face the future. To be redeemed is first and foremost to believe, to be proud and sure that ours is the right way. As the sages have said, "Our forefathers were redeemed from Egypt only because of their faith."

It appears that even in the religious camp there has been an erosion in what concerns the question of our right to this land, as in the case of the statements of the chief rabbi of Great Britain, Rabbi Dr I. Jakobovits. What is the reaction of the Chief Rabbi to this development?

#### The Land of Israel--the Foundation of Faith and Torah

There are two aspects to the question of our right to this land, a religious and a national aspect.

From a national standpoint it is possible to argue whether through territorial concessions peace with all the Arab states can be achieved. In my humble opinion this is a very dangerous illusion. Returning Judea and Samaria, Gaza, and so on, or parts thereof to the Arabs, including Egypt, is abetting their final goal, which is undoubtedly the total liquidation of the state of Israel. However, anyone has the right to express his opinion, and live according to his views and beliefs.

But in no way, shape or form can I understand how a Jewish scholar, a rabbi, and a believer in God's Torah can imagine the possibility of any concessions of the very heart of the Land of Israel which is promised to us by the Almighty. We must know and remind ourselves daily of one empirical fact, namely, that the Land of Israel to the believing Jew is not outside his system of the most sacred religious beliefs. The Land of Israel for the believing Jew is the foundation of faith and Torah. The



first contact between God and Abraham focused only on the Land of Israel and on no other biblical commandment, as it is written: "Go forth...to the land which I will show you...Arise and walk the length and breadth of the land for I will make it yours." This was the first explicit commandment in the Torah given to Abraham, our father. The reason for this is that the Land of Israel is the foundation of our Torah. In the words of our great Rabbi Nachmanides in his commentary on the section of Ahary, we find that "The essence of all the commandments is directed at those who dwell in God's land, and therefore it states in Sifre, 'And you will inherit it and settle it and observe it—dwelling in Israel outweighs all the other commandments in the Torah.'" Moreover, the entire book of Genesis was written, according to Rashi, to make us aware of this empirical truth and to establish our undeniable right to the Land of Israel. In the words of Rabbi Isaac in Rashi's opening commentary on the book of Genesis. The interesting thing is that it does not say (Rashi, *ibid*) "To announce to the nations the mightiness of His deeds." But rather "To announce to his people the mightiness of His deeds." We at least should believe in our right to the Land of Israel, which today we fail to do.

As followers of halakhah, believers in God's Torah and in the divine providence, we ought to ask ourselves what is the halakhic status of the state of Israel and what duties are incumbent upon us as Jews who follow the Torah and the commandments vis-a-vis the Land of Israel; does the state have a halakhic significance or a halakhic status religiously and historically or not? If it does, what does it mean to us functionally?

### Three Basic Periods

The answer is that the history of the Jewish people is divided into three basic periods, halakhically speaking. First, the period of Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel which began with our first entry into the Land in the time of Joshua bin Nun, all through the era of the kings, the first and second Temple, when the institutions of the monarchy, the Torah and the nation flourished and operated according to the halakhah.

The second is the period of the exile, when the people were dispersed throughout the world and lost its national institutions and its national sovereignty and was forced to build its life round the heavenly, rather than the earthly Jerusalem. This was an abnormal and most undesirable, though temporary period. This period is referred to as "in this time," to indicate the temporary nature of life among the nations, when we were separated from the source of holiness of our land which is tenfold holy. The entire purpose of this holiness is to prepare the people for the third period, the period of the third redemption, the third Temple.

It is possible to prove through halakhic sources that the sages of Israel in the Mishnah and Gemara did not see the possibility, halakhically, of a transition period between the exile and the third redemption. We do find the concept in the Talmud, which appears only once, of "the beginning

of our redemption." It can be explained as a period which is neither exile nor redemption. But a look at the tractate of Megillah 17b shows that the reference is not so much to an interim period. There "the beginning of our redemption" is defined as the period of the wars before the redemption which will also constitute the redemption as it is written: "The war is also the beginning of redemption." And there is a great deal of proof in the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmud and in Maimonides, according to which there is no way of establishing Jewish government in the land without the ingathering of the exiles, the liberation of the land, and the establishment of Jewish rule in the land. One should recall here the words of Maimonides in the Letter to Yemen which states: "When the nations believe that this nation will never have its own government and will not be redeemed from its bondage, and all the wise men will be of one opinion concerning this matter...the Holy One Blessed Be He will thwart their ideas and will prove them wrong."

Our situation today is indeed most strange. After we have been fortunate enough to free our land and acquire our own government and we have accomplished so much in the early stages of the third redemption, we are still without faith and without confidence in the way we are to follow unwaveringly.

The Land of Israel is one entity and cannot be divided or split. It is like a living body in which every part is a living part of the body and the soul depends on it. As we read in Avot d'Rabi Natan, ten things are called "life" in the Torah, and the Land of Israel is one of them. As it is written: "And I will put a deer in the land of the living." Jerusalem is called life as it is written: "All that is written for life is Jerusalem."

The Land of Israel is different from all other lands in that there is no division in it among animal, plant and mineral. Even the inorganic part of it is considered living and has breath and soul, as it is written, "Who gives a soul to the people above it." This can be demonstrated in many sources in the Talmud and Midrash. This is the religious aspect of the Land of Israel. There is no other.

Is the chief rabbi satisfied with the new "Rabbinate Law"?

#### The "Rabbinate Law" Fills a Wide Gap

I hope that the chief rabbinate will now begin a new thrust in its work in the light of the newly defined roles of the rabbinate and the distribution of roles between the two chief rabbis.

One can say with satisfaction that the new law fills a wide gap which has existed until now regarding the performance of weddings by unauthorized rabbis. The new law gives exclusive authority to the chief rabbinical council to empower rabbis in three areas: religious judges, city rabbis, and rabbis who perform weddings.

Criticism has been levelled at the authorization of judges who did not take a test. What is the position of the chief rabbi on this score?

This is not a new phenomenon, and we did not create it. During the former administration of the chief rabbinical council, which lasted for 9-1/2 years, no tests were given to judges, and all the judges who were appointed during that time were authorized without a test. During our administration we already had three test periods for judges, and we have graduated about 100 judges. What we have innovated is, that the rabbi of a large city who has served for at least 10 years as the city rabbi and is considered an important scholar, can be appointed judge by the local council.

All those who were authorized by us, I am sure will serve efficiently, successfully, devotedly, and faithfully.

We are in the midst of a Sabbatical year. What was the contribution of the chief rabbinate to the preparation for this year?

In preparation for the Sabbatical year we have issued halakhic-technological-agricultural studies. We have found long range solutions, halakhic solutions, which can resolve a great many problems related to the prohibitions of the Sabbatical year.

We have innovated in four areas: we have solved many difficulties which stood in the way of the permission to sell and which had been raised by the eminent scholar the Hazon Ish of blessed memory. We solved it in two ways: by changing the sales procedures and cancelling the emissary and the sales permit, and by a special law passed by the Knesset and sponsored by Member of Knesset Rabbi Hayim Druckman, who answers some of the difficulties raised by the Hazon Ish in his strong objection to the permission to sell.

The second area: after some halakhic-technological investigation, we have found a solution to the large task of plowing, sowing, and planting during the Sabbatical year, without the need for a sales permit. By means of the new electronic equipment which converts the work from direct to "caused."

The third area: the mapping of the land according to the degree of holiness and the singling out of many areas which are exempt from the prohibition of the Sabbatical year according to the halakhah. We have issued a special map according to the method of Maimonides which constitutes an important document to determine the boundaries of the holiness of the land for the purpose of fulfilling the laws of the Sabbatical year.

The last area: the clarification of the special status of the liberated areas from the standpoint of the halakhah regarding the prohibitions of the Sabbatical year.

The chief rabbinate has begun to publish a quarterly on halakhic questions called M'orot which was well received in the rabbinical world, here and

abroad. The first issue is devoted almost entirely to questions of the Sabbatical year and will become a historical halakhic document for future Sabbatical years.

Do the rabbis of the Diaspora regard the chief rabbinate as the source for solving halakhic questions which they find difficult to solve?

#### Questions from All Over the World

It seems to me that never before has the chief rabbinate been flooded with as many questions as today.

I am sorry to say that I personally am quite behind on answering the questions which keep coming in in a steady flow from Jewish communities abroad since each question requires a great deal of study and a thorough investigation, even though I have already answered thousands of halakhic questions. The chief rabbinate is becoming the largest center in the Jewish world for determining halakhic questions through response.

#### What areas do the questions deal with?

There is hardly a subject in our life which the questions do not deal with. From questions of personal status to matters of art and concepts to laws regarding the land and the returning of territories to gentiles. The technological developments in various areas create complex halakhic problems and we are asked to answer and resolve those questions. I hope to put out in the near future a whole set of halakhic response and commentary. Until recently it was impossible for me to make public the thorough halakhic study which I did on the question of permitting the widows of the crew of the Dakar submarine to remarry, since it was classified as "top secret." After dealing with the security authorities and making the changes which they asked me to make, I was allowed to make it public. There are important elements in this book regarding permitting widows to remarry in the case of "endless water" or in the case of air and sea disasters. I am about to put out a large volume of response in military and security matters which will include most of the response which I have produced during my 24 years of service in the IDF. The book will be titled He Who Returns War. With God's help I also hope to continue putting out the version of the Palestinian Talmud which I have begun to publish, with a new innovation: in addition to a large body of versions and early commentaries, it will include a popular commentary in modern Hebrew which will help make the Palestinian accessible to the people. With the revival of the land we must revive Israel's Talmud.

In addition to all this I intend to publish the important legal decisions which I have issued in the high court and their reasons. I hope that those decisions will be of importance to courts here and abroad.



On Passover and on the days which precede it the dietary laws are observed with greater strictness so that no infraction may take place. Yet there is a feeling that in the area of dietary laws there are still gaps. What has and what does the rabbinate do to insure dietary observance beyond any doubts and reservations?

#### Closing the Gap in the Area of Dietary Laws

The problem of dietary observance will not be resolved in Israel unless two conditions are met: (a) passing a law against fraud in dietary practices; (b) seeing to it that the salaries of the dietary inspectors are not paid by the employer.

The first condition is the most vital, since hundreds of butcher shops, restaurants, and hotels advertise kosher food without any supervision and while actually serving non-kosher food. Some put on the mark "kosher" and add the name of God without any bearing on dietary observance. It is inconceivable that a vital, logical, and self-evident law such as the one concerning fraud in dietary observance will exist in New York but will be shied away from in Israel.

This law should be passed immediately even before all its details are worked out, so that the rabbinate will have authority over dietary observance.

The second condition need not be explained. It is necessary quite simply to create a national trade union of inspectors. This union will negotiate with the management and will collect the fee, and the treasury of the union will pay the salary of the inspectors which will free them from any dependency on the institutions which they supervise.

The above conditions will salvage dietary observance in Israel.

In addition I am about to open as a service of the chief rabbinate a special laboratory to check the dietary acceptability of food items on a scientific basis. This laboratory will be run by religious scientists who are experts on food and who will check the dietary status of every product before it is put on the market.

To conclude: at every Seder night we highlight a sentence or a passage in the Haggadah which symbolizes the events of our time and which can give us hope for the future. What will we choose this year?

#### Fifth Cup

On this Seder night it is incumbent upon us to reintroduce the ancient tradition of the Gaonites, of Maimonides, and of the early sages, of a fifth cup which symbolizes God's promise in Egypt: "And I shall bring you to



the land which I have lifted My hand to give to Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and I shall give it to you as an inheritance I am the Lord."

The fifth cup is not only an outer symbol. It has deep meaning, deep spiritual and historical significance in the life of the people. It symbolizes the awakening of the people to the third redemption. It renews our faith and confidence in the future redemption.

Along with the proclamation of "Next year in Jerusalem," which today takes on a new meaning, different from the distant past, all Jews in the Diaspora can now proceed to turn the proclamation into reality. The fifth cup stands on the Seder table and symbolizes the willingness of the people to fight for their renewed redemption and their double freedom, national as well as spiritual. Therefore, now the time has come to renew the old glory and reintroduce the drinking of the fifth cup in every Seder in Israel and in the Diaspora, so that we may demonstrate how the people in Zion walk tall as well as show our solidarity throughout the world for Zion and Jerusalem. "On that day it will be said to Jerusalem fear not O Zion and let not your hands falter, the Lord your God is with you a saving power who will rejoice in you."

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MILITARY PHYSICAL FITNESS AND MARKSMANSHIP TESTS INSTITUTED

Tel Aviv BAHAMANEH in Hebrew 21 Mar 80 p 2

[Article: "Physical Fitness and Marksmanship as a Condition for Promotion"]

[Text] As of the first of May, male and female officers will have to take fitness and marksmanship tests as a condition for promotion. This applies to male and female officers from the rank of second lieutenant to the rank of colonel. The officers will be notified of this on the pay stubs for April.

In fact, this significant change has already been approved by all concerned. Now, the technical details regarding the content of the tests and the way they would be carried out are being discussed. In reply to a question as to whether it will be enough for an officer to take the tests, or whether he will have to achieve a certain level in them, the head of the battle fitness department in the training branch, Colonel David Ben-Asher, told BAHAMANEH that taking part in the tests requires preliminary exercises and personal preparation on an acceptable level. He said that taking part in the tests by itself requires strong motivation on the part of the officer.

The fitness tests will take place every Friday in the school for battle fitness. They would be valid for only 6 months from the time an officer is commissioned in a new rank. The officer would get a certificate stating that he passed the tests from the personnel department from which he gets all other certificates.

It is now debated whether to prepare similar tests for reserve officers and non-commissioned officers in the regular army.

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## MEASURES TO LIMIT LOSS OF WEAPONS TAKEN

Tel Aviv BAHAMANEH in Hebrew 29 Mar 80 p 4

[Article: "How to Limit the Loss of Weapons"]

[Text] In a message to unit commanders, Quartermaster General, General Yohanan Gur, warns against the dangerous situation which would be created if the worrisome dimensions of incidents involving the loss, theft and disappearance of weapons from the army is allowed to continue.

In his message, General Gur stresses that weapons "flow out" from the army to the underworld and to hostile elements, and are later used against the citizens of Israel. He says: "You, the commanders, can do something to eliminate this problem. Firm action has to be taken so that those who are given weapons will protect them against getting into the hands of people who are not allowed to carry or keep them."

"Although every kind of negligence which causes the loss of weapons or their theft is usually followed by strict punishment of those responsible," adds the general to the commanders, "the effort has to center on preventing this phenomena and eliminating it. The soldiers have to be told again and again how important this thing is and how dangerous negligence is."

General Gur reminds the commanders that they have to check and verify that orders and regulations are strictly carried out, and stresses the following points:

--Form 1008 is to be filled out when a soldier is given a weapon, and the engraved number of the weapon is to be written on it.

--Security and protection of the weapons in the unit is to be maintained, especially through verification that the arms depot is locked and a guard is stationed at it at all times.

--In every arms depot there is to be inspections and stocktakings twice every 24 hours. These will be carried out by the NCO in charge of maintenance or by the armorer.

--All weapons in the unit are to be listed according to their engraved numbers in a special book (form 1092).

--Subscriptions of reserve soldiers who keep weapons at home are to be renewed every 6 months, when the soldier will have to present himself at the unit for inspection and verification of the weapon.

--A soldier who keeps a weapon is to be allowed to travel abroad only after his weapon is returned to the quartermaster branch in his unit.

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## BRIEFS

**MAJORITY FAVORS EARLY ELECTIONS**--On the third anniversary of the Likud government the majority of the Israeli public thinks that the Likud government has not fulfilled expectations and that early elections should be held. These are the conclusions of a nationwide public opinion poll conducted by the Pori Institute at HA'ARETZ's request. Some 63.2 percent of those people questioned replied that the Likud government has not fulfilled expectations, as opposed to only 10.7 percent who said that the Likud government had indeed fulfilled their expectations. Another 21.1 percent think that the Likud government has "more or less" fulfilled expectations, and the remaining 4.9 percent did not express their opinion. Some 52.7 percent of the people questioned also supported early Knesset elections, as compared with 34.7 percent who objected to it. Another 2.3 percent said they would favor early elections if the social and economic situation improved. The remaining 10.1 percent had not formed an opinion either for or against early elections. An analysis of the conclusions indicated that 84 percent of those who voted for the alignment favor early elections, whereas 11.5 percent of them are against it. Among those people who voted for the Likud 17.2 percent support early elections and 74.2 percent are opposed to it. Among the people who voted for the NRP 21.2 percent support early elections and 54.5 percent are against it. Some 24.2 percent of the NRP voters have not formed an opinion regarding the issue of early elections. The poll was conducted on a representative sample of 1,200 men and women who were given personal interviews in their homes throughout the country. [Text] [TA141730 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 14 May 80 p 1]

**DISPLACED FAMILIES DEMAND INVESTIGATION**--The two families that have been moved from their homes in Balatah and Bayt Sahur to Jericho refugee camps began a hunger strike, demanding that an investigatory committee be set up to examine their case. Red Cross personnel visited them this morning. The (Shumali) family, expelled from Bayt Sahur to the Mukhayyam al-Sultan refugee camp, claims that the governor of Bethlehem and his deputy hit a member of the family with a gun butt and rolled him down the staircase. They claimed that the son, George, had thrown a rock at the military car after a soldier provoked him. The spokesman for the military government has completely denied this version, saying that the youth threw a stone at a military car while he was riding a bicycle and then he fell and was

hurt. However, it is possible that the soldiers hit him as well. The Bayt Jala hospital personnel decided that he needed an operation. The patriarch of the family was arrested after that incident and a female member of the family called (Wigin) was fired from her job as a teacher. [Text] [TA171018 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 17 May 80] The two families who were transferred from their houses in Bayt Sahur and Balatah to an abandoned refugee camp near Jericho will return to their homes by tomorrow morning. Our military correspondent Roni Daniyel has learned that the decision was adopted due to humanitarian reasons. The families were transferred to the refugee camp of 'Ayn al-Sultan as a punishment for having thrown stones at a military vehicle. [Text] [TA201810 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 20 May 80]

**NEW OIL EXPLORATION--**A second drilling tower will soon be erected in northern Sharon between kibbutz Shefayim and kibbutz Ga'ash. The Hagah Company is planning to use the "Ga'ash 2" drill there to drill to a depth of 2,500 meters. The decision to drill there was made following a renewed organizational attempt by the Hagah [Oil Search] Company, during which sites where oil had been sought in the past were examined. Several years ago drilling to a depth of 1,200 meters was carried out there. The area was found to be dry. Hagah personnel regard the "Ga'ash 2" drilling operation as a key one that will supply a great deal of information about the various strata below. Preparations for drilling are being made on Mt Karmel, near Deir al-Muhraqa. Finance for this is being provided by a U.S. investor. The drilling will reach a depth of about 5 km and use the large drilling engine belonging to the Lapidot Company. After that this drill will be taken to the Sedom area to drill "Sedom 3," upon which great hopes are pinned. ['Oded Shorer] [Text] [TA201309 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 20 May 80 p 11]

**HARASSMENT INITIATED BY COMMUNISTS--**A small underground organization is apparently behind the stone throwing and throwing of molotov cocktails at Israeli vehicles. Arab sources in Judea and Samaria who reported this also disclosed the name of the organization: ("Katib al-Aksar")--The Supporters' Troops [as published]. This organization was established at the end of 1969 in Amman, by the Communist Party, and it was given the task, primarily, of conducting underground political activity. After the bloody events in Jordan in September 1970, the organization was completely paralyzed. Over the last few months it has resumed its activities in the West Bank towns, mainly in organizing students to throw stones and molotov cocktails. According to these sources, the aim of the organization's leaders is to convince the PLO that they should have fitting representation on the PLO Steering Committee and in the Palestine National Council, representation similar to that of the other Palestinian organizations. [Tawfiq Khuri] [Text] [TA201234 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew 20 May 80 p 4]

**WEST BANK WORKERS ABUSED--**Abuse of Hebron inhabitants is continuing even after the curfew has been lifted during the daylight hours. Workers returned from their jobs on Sunday afternoon were stopped at a roadblock at the entrance to the town and taken by soldiers behind the glass factory at the entrance to Hebron, beaten and abused. The soldiers hit the inhabitants

who were returning from work with their fists and their rifles and threw people onto broken glass. One of those beaten was Da'ud al-Qawasimi, a draftsman and a relative of the deported mayor. A border guards unit which came to the spot intervened and put an end to the soldiers' brutality towards the workers returning from their jobs. Had the border guards personnel not intervened, the soldiers' brutality would have continued without disturbance. [Q. Amnon] [Excerpt] [TA201203 Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew 20 May 80 p 1]

**MIGDAL 'OZ SETTLEMENT STAYS**--The prime minister promised an NRP delegation that the settlement of Migdal 'Oz in the 'Ezyon bloc would not be removed, even if the appellants win their appeal to the high court of justice. Our political correspondent Shim'on Schiffer has learned that Mr Begin--quoting the cabinet's legal adviser--said that his arguments were strong. Moreover, even if a settlement were to be removed, the justice minister has promised to initiate retroactive legislation. [Text] [TA191757 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 19 May 80]

**WEST BANK COLLEGE CLOSED**--Supreme Court Judge Moshe (Baisky) has summoned the representative of the government legal adviser to explain why it was decided to close the Abu Dis University. This came as a response to an appeal submitted by an association called the Loyalists of the Arab-Jordanian Institution [Ne'enne Hamedad Ha'aravi-Yardeni]. In its appeal, this association claimed that it has been running the high school in Abu Dis for over 10 years, and this year it also decided to have college studies. However, more than 2 months ago the military governor ordered the college to be closed, and it was closed last month. The appellants claim that the reason for the closure order is political, because the military government wants to prevent the existence of an Arab university in the Jerusalem area. They also claim that the Jordanian education law does not make the opening of a private university dependent on authorization by the authorities. Finally, the appellants claim that the lack of a university in the territories is causing the emigration to neighboring countries of young people wanting an education. The judge's decision was reported by our correspondent Moshe Negbi. [Text] [TA181946 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1800 GMT 18 May 80]

**U.S. WEST BANK RESEARCH**--Research carried out in the United States at the request of the administration says that in times of peace the West Bank has no military significance for Israel and technological alternatives can be found. The research states, however, that the Jordan valley settlements and a cross-Samaria highway do have defense importance. The researchers added that in the future Israel should be involved in the security supervision of the Jordan bridges in the framework of an international force. As for the authorities of the administrative council in the territories, the U.S. researchers said that these should be determined in accordance with the council's ability to control acts of terror in the West Bank. The details of this research have been learned by our political correspondent. The research was done at the request of the U.S. administration and is based on confidential administration sources and on talks with Israeli defense personnel. [Text] [TA180525 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 0500 GMT 18 May 80]



**QIRYAT ARBA', HEBRON POWERLINES**--The high-voltage electricity line to Qiryat Arba' and Hebron was again damaged this morning. The director of the Jerusalem Electric Company told our correspondent Shmuel Tal that the company engineers were now trying to locate the source of the damage. It appears that a stone was thrown at a sensitive part of the line. The director of the company claims that someone has been consistently sabotaging that line. [Text] [TA171020 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 17 May 80] The electric company workers have succeeded in locating the area where the high-voltage line to Qiryat Arba' and Hebron was damaged. This line was damaged this morning. [Excerpt] [TA171212 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 17 May 80]

**HEBRON FAMILIES COMPENSATED**--An investigation conducted by the military authorities revealed that all shops torn down in the area of the Hadassah building were owned by the Khirbawi family that rescued about a hundred Jews in the 1920 massacre in Hebron. Our correspondent Pinhas 'Inbari has learned that the military authorities are now consulting Hebron notables on how to compensate this family for the damage caused to it. Our correspondent notes that one of the shops was run by the Khirbawi family and the other shops were rented to other families. One of the shops was run by the Abu-Munshir family, whose head also rescued seven Jews in the massacre. Among other things they are considering giving the two families a license to build new shops. The curfew in Hebron continues, although it has been learned that its conditions will be eased the day after tomorrow. The head of the Hebron education bureau, Rashad al-Ja'bari, sent a telegram to the regional commander demanding that the curfew be abolished. [Text] [TA161730 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1700 GMT 16 May 80]

**HEBRON DEPORTEES REASSERT INNOCENCE**--Hebron Mayor Fahd al-Qawasimi turned to Israeli journalists yesterday, asking them to contact him at the New York hotel where he is currently staying. Talking with one of the Israeli journalists al-Qawasimi said he had asked for the contact with the Israeli press in order to appeal to Israeli public opinion to act for the return of the deportees. "We are not to blame for the murder in Hebron and had nothing to do with it," al-Qawasimi said. Fahd al-Qawasimi, who was speaking for the other two deportees as well, added that the source of tension in Hebron is the settlers squatting in the Hadassah building. The deportees called on all "peace seekers" in Israel to take action to halt the deterioration in the West Bank. The deportees also stated they are very concerned about events in Hebron and the prolonged curfew imposed on the town. They gave details of the fraudulent manner in which they were taken out of their homes and sent to the Lebanese border. They added they will appear before the UN Security Council on Tuesday. [Yehuda Litani] [Excerpt] [TA180932 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 18 May 80]

**INFRASTRUCTURE FOR NEW SETTLEMENT**--This morning, construction work began for a new settlement called Vered Yeriho about 2 km southeast of Jericho, near the deserted refugee camp of Mukhayyat al-Sultan. The settlement is intended for the non-religious members of the nucleus from Mispe



Yericho--in the Ma'ale Ha'edumim area--which is at odds with religious nucleus there. The members of this nucleus [the non-religious nucleus] have refused to move to the new place and demonstrated in Jerusalem today. The new settlement is being built within the framework of the plan worked out by the head of the Jewish Agency's settlement department, Matityahu Drobles, to encircle Jericho with Jewish settlements. Our correspondent Avraham Ben-Melekh notes that an investigation was carried out by the Justice Ministry and it transpired that the lands required by that settlement are not private. [Text] [TA181242 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 18 May 80]

ISRAELIS OPPOSE LAND RETURN--Tel Aviv--A majority of the public is against returning Judea and Samaria to Jordan in exchange for a peace treaty, and the public is divided on starting the autonomy scheme in the Gaza Strip first. This emerged from the latest poll conducted for the JERUSALEM POST by the Modi'in Ezerah Applied Research Centre among 1,302 adults. The first question was: "Are you for or against returning the administered territories in Judea and Samaria to Jordan in exchange for a peace treaty?" For--34.3 percent; against--60.1 percent; undecided--5.6 percent. The answers to the question whether autonomy should be implemented in Gaza first; yes--41 percent; no--42.9 percent; undecided--16.1 percent. Centre director 'Amiram Yarqoni noted that 63.8 percent of men opposed returning the territories, as did 76 percent of the 17-22 age group, and 68.4 percent of the 23-30 age group. Similar views were held by 53 percent of oriental communities, 68.9 percent of low-education groups, 68.7 percent of blue collar workers, 77.8 percent of religious people and 63.3 percent of those of low income. These sentiments were heaviest among residents of Jerusalem and new towns. The strongest opposition came from voters from the Likud--78.4 percent; National Religious Party--77.3 percent; Agudat Yisra'el--70 percent; and Tehiya--67.5 percent. Strongest for returning the territories for peace were women--36.1 percent; and in the 31-40 age group--40.9 percent. The higher the income and education, the greater the support for returning the territories. [Mark Segal] [Text] [TA200853 Jerusalem JERUSALEM POST in English 20 May 80 p 1]

HIGH COURT APPEAL--Appealing to the High Court of Justice, the (Al-Shumali) family from Bayt Sahur, has asked to be allowed to return to its home following its deportation to a refugee camp near Jericho. The military government expelled the family because the son was suspected of having thrown a stone at a military car. Our correspondent Arye Gus reports that the appeal is founded on the argument that collective punishment because of a deed done by a member of the family is forbidden by the Geneva Convention. [Text] [TA191249 Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1200 GMT 19 May 80]

**WEST BANK YOUTH**--Security elements in Judeea and Samaria have decided to repress, in any way possible, the plague of stone- and Molotov cocktail-throwing which has worsened over the last few weeks and created a situation in which main traffic arteries have become dangerous for drivers in vehicles not bearing the special license plates for inhabitants of the territories. This decision was made after it was made plain that this phenomenon [of stone-throwing] is not a coincidence at all and the youths who throw stones or Molotov cocktails are not simply louts acting on their own initiative, but are being incited by adults or are acting with their knowledge. In order to contain the phenomenon of plotting against Israeli vehicles, drastic steps will be taken. Houses from which stones have been thrown with the knowledge of the householder will be destroyed and families will be moved from place to place. Walls will be built to separate the refugee camp edges from main traffic arteries. Such walls have already been built in the Al-Jalazun refugee camp near Ramallah, and yesterday such a wall was built on the edge of the Ad-Duhayyah refugee camp in the Bethlehem District. Last night security sources reported that the fight against stonethrowers has just begun and the stronger the phenomenon becomes, the more severe it will be. It was made plain that if matters are not calmed, the military government will regard every incident of stone-throwing as though someone had opened fire and they will behave toward the local inhabitants accordingly. [Excerpts] [TA191207 Tel Aviv HA'ARIV in Hebrew 19 May 60 p 3]

CSG: 4805

#### NEW INSURANCE REGULATIONS ISSUED

Amman AL-RAY in Arabic 5 April 80 p 5

[Article: "Local Issues: Details of Bill To Monitor Insurance Activities; Conditions for Issuing Licenses and Limits on Capital"]

[Text] The special ministerial committee charged with discussing the bill to monitor insurance activities has completed its discussion of the bill and has submitted it to the Council of Ministers for review by the Legislative Office in preparation for its adoption.

#### Insurance Activities

With regard to implementing the provisions of the law the bill divided insurance activities into the following kinds:

\* Life Insurance: This includes all insurance activities that pertain to life and the hazards of living such as disability, old age and others. Life insurance also covers an obligation to pay the insured a salary for life at regular intervals in return for compensation in money, real estate or personal property backed up by money.

\* Savings and Fidelity Bonding: This covers insurance activities that are based on issuing documents, shares, certificates or other papers according to which the principal obligates himself to pay a sum or several sums of money at a future date in return for a payment or for periodic payments. This also includes other fidelity bonding activities.

Fire Insurance: This covers insurance against damages resulting from the hazards of fire, earthquakes, lightning, storms, winds, hurricanes, hail, explosions and disturbances, crashes of airplanes and other airborne vessels and everything that is included in those damages and usually results therefrom.

Marine Insurance: This covers insurance against damages that befall sea and airborne vessels including their cargo or anything else that may be insured which is related to these vessels, their cargo, and the goods,

possessions and funds they may be carrying by land, sea or air, or by any other means. Marine insurance covers the risks of commercial warehouses or, in addition, any other risks that may occur during transportation and everything that normally and usually comes under marine insurance.

**Accident Insurance:** This covers insurance against damages resulting from all accidents, liability, vehicles, work accidents, personal accidents, diseases, theft, betrayal of trust and everything that is usually and ordinarily considered accident insurance.

**Other Kinds of Insurance:** This includes insurance that has not been mentioned in this article.

The provisions of this law apply to all insurance companies whether they are national or foreign. Insurance companies that do business in the kingdom must be public joint stock companies, and their employees must be Jordanian citizens. An insurance company doing business in Jordan may hire no more than three non-Jordanian specialists after the approval of the minister. A member of the board of directors of a national insurance company may not receive a commission for any insurance activity. A member of the board of directors of a national insurance company may not take part in the management of any similar or competing company, nor may he engage in business that competes with the company's business.

No insurance company affiliated with any country that does not treat Jordanian insurance companies in the same manner will be allowed to do business in Jordan. Companies in existence when this law was issued are exempted from this provision.

### **Capital**

The paid capital for national insurance companies must not be less than 400,000 dinars, and the paid capital for foreign companies that have a branch in the kingdom must not be less than 300,000 dinars, provided that the capital that has been transferred to the branch or the agency that is representing the foreign company in the kingdom be not less than 150,000 dinars.

Before undertaking their business national insurance companies are to submit a security deposit in the amount of: 40,000 dinars for life insurance business; 40,000 dinars for savings and fidelity bonds insurance; and 20,000 dinars for underwriting all other kinds of insurance.

Before undertaking their business foreign insurance companies are to submit a security deposit in the amount of 60,000 dinars for life insurance business; 60,000 dinars for savings and fidelity bonds insurance; and 30,000 dinars for all other kinds of insurance, provided that the total be not less than a minimum of 100,000 dinars.



The aforementioned deposit is to include the following:

- \* Twenty-five percent [of the sum] is to be deposited in cash in a licensed bank in the kingdom in the name of the company and payable to the minister. This sum may be increased by the decision of the minister.

- \* The rest of the deposit is to be made in stocks and bonds of public Jordanian joint stock companies or in government bonds or Jordanian national bonds.

- \* The stocks and bonds mentioned in Paragraph B are to be accepted on the basis of their nominal or market value, whichever is less.

- \* A mortgage indication is to be placed on the stocks and bonds for the purposes of the deposit that is payable to the minister.

- \* The interest and the dividends earned by the company's deposit are payable to the company. Despite any stipulation in any other law or legislation, the minister can designate the bank where said deposit will be made. This deposit may be replaced with the approval of the minister, provided that its value be not less than the minimum for the deposit at the time the exchange is made. A court with jurisdiction and an officer presiding over a measure that is being taken may impound the deposit for debts that may have been the result of the insurance business which the company is carrying out. This deposit may not be impounded for other debts. The controller is to ask the company to supplement the deposit if it becomes less than the minimum decreed by law due to the decline in the value of stocks and bonds or for any other reason. The company is to supplement the deposit in a maximum period of 60 days from the date of the request. The bank may not turn over to the company that made the deposit or to any other person all or part of the deposit entrusted to it; nor may the bank dispose of this deposit in any way unless the court so decrees or unless the bank receives handwritten permission from the minister. The minister may grant such permission if he becomes convinced that the company has no financial obligations pertaining to insurance activities. In this case the minister must publish an announcement for this purpose in the official Gazette and in one of the local newspapers before allowing the deposit to be returned or possibly disposed of. The period between the announcement and the issue of the permission to take possession or to dispose of the funds is not to be less than 2 months. The company, the bank and the agency that issued the stocks and bonds are to notify the controller of every decrease that takes place in the deposit within 7 days of the occurrence of such decrease. The controller may ask for detailed information about the deposit at any time, and this information is to be submitted without delay.

## Foreign Insurance Companies

In addition to the information required in accordance with this law and with the corporations law, a foreign insurance company which wants to do business in the kingdom has to submit the following:

A statement about the insurance business it did in the 3 years preceding the year in which it is making the request. The company is to submit its budget for the previous year.

The company is to submit certificates and documents which prove that it is legally qualified to underwrite insurance in the country where it was established and that it wants to pursue the same business in the kingdom. All these documents are to be certified and translated into Arabic.

The foreign insurance company in the kingdom is to be managed by a certified Jordanian insurance agent who is duly authorized by the company to manage its business in Jordan. The company has to notify the controller in case the position of the insurance agent becomes vacant or if he is replaced for any reason whatsoever within one month of such an occurrence.

## Certified Insurance Agents

The following conditions must be available in a certified insurance agent:

He must be a Jordanian citizen, residing in the kingdom. He must be over 21 years old, and he is not to have been convicted of a felony, a misdemeanor or bankruptcy, nor should he be suspected thereof. He is to be registered with the controller of corporations or with the commercial registrar. One of his objectives must be the taking over of insurance agencies. In case the certified insurance agent is a legal entity, his representative must meet the aforementioned conditions.

The certified insurance agent must have a certified, duly executed power of attorney from his principal authorizing him to undertake the following activities:

- \* To represent him in the courts and in official and unofficial bodies.
- \* To receive notices, notifications and communications addressed to his principal.
- \* To provide the minister, the controller and the official and unofficial bodies with the information that is required in this or any other law.
- \* To pay the compensations that result from the damages that are insured in accordance with the insurance contracts issued by the company.
- \* To sign for the company with regard to implementing the provisions of the law. A certified insurance agent may not act as an agent for more than one company.

## Insurance License

Anyone who is engaged in the insurance business may obtain a license from the minister authorizing him to engage in this business. He may obtain this license after payment of the legal fees. Registration of the insurance company with the controller of corporations may not be considered a license to underwrite insurance. The controller is to publish the licenses granted in the Official Gazette.

An application for a license is to be submitted to the minister through the controller. The insurance company is to submit the following documents along with this application.

A certified statement indicating the amount of the capital paid and a document showing the kinds of insurance which the company wants to underwrite. If the company wants to establish a branch or an agency in the kingdom, the minister or whomever the minister authorizes in his place, may request certified copies of the company's budgets; a certified document showing the name and the address of the certified insurance agent; (a statement) indicating that he is authorized to manage and to sign the insurance contracts; a certified copy of the agreement between the foreign company and the insurance agent; a certified document explaining the law of the country where the company was established abroad, showing that Jordanian companies are allowed to do insurance business in said country; proof that a general manager or a manager who is qualified and experienced in the insurance business has been appointed and will be responsible for conducting the company's insurance business; and any other documents requested by the minister or the controller.

After the documents required for obtaining an insurance license are submitted, the controller submits a report to the minister. He is to attach his opinion to this report, indicating that the conditions for granting the license have been met, [specifying] the kind or kinds of insurance that the company may underwrite. The minister may approve or reject the granting of a license for any kind or kinds of insurance the company wants to underwrite within a month of receiving the controller's report. If the minister approves the granting of a license, the controller is to draw up an insurance license certificate after legal fees are paid and all registration measures are completed with the controller of corporations.

Insurance companies that want to add one or more kinds of insurance to their business are to do the following:

They are to fill out the special application for that purpose and to file it with the controller of insurance. They are to pay the application fee, to deposit the funds stipulated in this law; to provide the controller with certified proof of such deposit; and to submit any other documents requested by the minister or the controller.

## **The Licenses**

An insurance license is to be renewed annually after an application for renewal is submitted at least one month before the beginning of each calendar year. The company must complete all legal requirements, and it must pay all the fees stipulated in the regulations that are issued in accordance with this law. The controller is to publish [notice of] license renewal in the Official Gazette. If a company's annual license is not renewed, it is considered to be unauthorized to underwrite insurance in the kingdom.

The minister may suspend at his discretion a license to practice one or more kinds of insurance for a period of time, provided that it not be more than one year. The minister may revoke the license in the following cases:

- \* If the principal violates the provisions of this or any other law.
- \* If he refrained from implementing a sentence that must be carried out legally.
- \* If the company's financial status required an increase of the deposit because its worth had declined and the principal did not supplement the shortage in the period of time stipulated in this law.

(To be continued tomorrow)

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CSO: 4802



NEW ELECTIONS LAW ADVOCATED

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 19 Mar 80 p 2

[Article by Emile Khuri: "Filling of Vacant Parliamentary Seats Faces Security and Constitutional Obstacles; New Elections Law To Usher in Political and Social Reforms Is Being Called For"]

[Text] It seems that the legal study about filling vacant parliamentary seats which had been prepared by the late al-Shaykh Bahij Taqiy al-Din in his capacity as minister of the interior for review by the Council of Ministers has been abandoned for the following reasons:

First, the government was satisfied with extending the Chamber of Deputies' term by a year and a half without attaching this extension to another plan that dealt with the subject of vacant parliamentary seats, as had been expected when the former minister of interior undertook the study.

The government regarded the status of parliamentary seats that were vacated by the death of a member as one that had no effect on the legislative process or on the activity of the Chamber of Deputies. The government saw no need to tie the extension of the Chamber's term to confirmation of the plan to have people appointed to fill these vacant seats. The government felt that secondary elections could be held when security conditions made that possible and that these elections could put security condition to the test and could [also] test the government's ability to control security and safeguard the neutrality and integrity of these elections. These vacant parliamentary seats can also be filled by candidates whose victory by acclamation would be proclaimed.

Second, amending the constitution to permit the government to appoint people to fill vacant parliamentary seats is not an easy matter. The government may not be able to obtain a two-thirds majority to ratify this amendment.

Third, Acting Minister of the Interior Mr Nazim al-Qadiri does not share the opinion of his predecessor the late Bahij Taqiy al-Din who thought that the constitution should be amended so as to permit the government to appoint deputies at least once. The Chamber would then consist of

elected deputies and appointed deputies. This would be an unnatural and an unusual situation in any parliamentary body in democratic countries.

Fourth, investigation into the matter is to be postponed until the Chamber reviews the proposed bill to amend the elections law and the government is assured that it cannot hold parliamentary elections until the end of this administration's term. The present Chamber of Deputies in particular, despite the shortage in its members due to death, would then elect the next president of the republic.

The former minister of the interior had prepared a legal study in which he had proposed that vacant seats in the present parliament be filled by appointments. He has also suggested that deputies be appointed in addition to the number of members of the present Chamber so that it would be made up of 120 or 130 members. This is in accordance with the fifty-fifty principle of the distribution of seats between Christian and Moslem sects.

Amending the constitution will permit the appointment of deputies only once. This is because political and security conditions, in addition to general conditions in the country, will not allow general parliamentary elections to be held, perhaps for a long time. As long as the Middle East crisis exists and as long as the Palestinian question remains unsolved, the sovereignty of the Lebanese government on all Lebanese territory will not be complete, and the predominance of the army will continue to be confined to areas and not to others.

#### Pros and Cons of Appointments

A group of ministers and deputies and some political and party leaders, however, are opposed to amending the constitution so as to give the executive authority the right to appoint deputies. This is because there are pros and cons to such appointments.

Among the cons of the appointments is the fact that the government will find itself pressed in selecting the deputies. It will be accused of favoritism; of making arbitrary choices; and of making choices that are based on kinship.

In addition, appointments will be subject to bargains and to extortion so as to affect the course of the presidential elections and to control their results. Thus no deputy would be appointed unless his vote for the desired candidate was guaranteed. This would damage the freedom and the integrity of the elective process, and it would constitute pressure on the will of the deputy. Furthermore, appointments in most cases would not express the wishes and the will of the people.

If appointments are inevitable, let such appointments be made to a senate that would be established to complement the legislative and representative activities of the Chamber of Deputies. Appointments [in such a senate]

would not be restricted by sectarian considerations. The Chamber of Deputies would then remain as it is, with its present numbers, until the vacant seats are filled through secondary elections that would be held when security circumstances make that possible.

Among the pros of appointing [people to fill vacant Chamber seats] is the fact appointments would spare the government the strains of conducting parliamentary elections under security circumstances that are unguaranteed and unstable. [Another point in favor of such appointments is the fact that] the number of deputies would be completed. It is known that some people think that appointments are helpful because the elite and the qualified are selected, especially if an appointment is made without any motive and objective. People who are qualified [for legislative tasks] and have superior advantages do not often have popular appeal. They are usually defeated in elections by those who are less knowledgeable and less qualified because in most cases the electorate does not make a good choice.

In addition, the statement that appointed delegates and elected delegates should not be in the same chamber is, in the opinion of some people, irrelevant to this Chamber of Deputies. The fact that the terms of some deputies are extended continuously is comparable to appointing them. A number of them would lose their seats if circumstances made it possible to hold an election.

Deputies and political and party leaders are calling upon the government to begin thinking of a new elections bill so that the new expansion period for parliament would not expire before this bill is ready for investigation and discussion.

When the extension period for the Chamber of Deputies ends in 1981, general elections would be held if security conditions in the country allowed that. The government would then have a new bill on whose bases the elections would be held; it would not have to be confronted with conducting the elections on the basis of the present law.

The bill to amend the elections law is the most important reform bill. Interest in it is not confined to the government alone, but it rather includes the broadest political, party and popular sectors. It monopolizes the attention of all sectors. Studying the law and ratifying it requires a long period of time.

When elections are honest due to an advanced elections law, a sound chamber of deputies would emanate therefrom. A sound chamber of deputies would enact sound laws and would bring about political, economic and social reforms that Lebanon desperately needs.

# ARMS DEAL FINALIZED DESPITE ENTENTE

Beirut AL-HADAF in Arabic 15 Mar 80 p 27

[Article: "An Arms Deal for the Lebanese Right Concluded in the Shadow of Entente Programs"]

[Text] It seems that the fascists are working day and night to re-kindle the civil war in Lebanon. They are ignoring all the proposals and programs that have been drawn up to solve the Lebanese crisis. It also seems that the United States has given the leaders of the fascist right the green light to prepare for the coming stage in the light of future related developments.

Security reports coming from the area east of Beirut--and specifically from the port of Aquamarina--indicate that ships loaded with weapons had unloaded their cargo in the aforementioned port as part of a new deal for the fascist, rightist Phalangist party. These ships were carrying different kinds and varieties of weapons. Some people are saying that the ships are carrying Israeli-made Sherman and Super Sherman tanks. These weapons were transported within the sight and the hearing of the "legitimate" Lebanese army that can be found at port entrances and at barricades that are set up all along the road from Juniyah to the desolate territory of Jubayl. The weapons have been placed in the villages of Haqil, Nayfuq, (Hadthun), (Rasha), (al-'Alali) and Shabtin.

It is noteworthy that the weapons were unloaded last Thursday; that three ships took part in this "deal;" and that the National Liberal Party took its full share of the weapons, transported them to al-Ashrafiyah and distributed them to party centers there. Such a shipment of weapons is nothing new in Lebanese events, but [coming] at this time it assumes special significance especially since there has been much talk about national entente after the Lebanese National Movement proposed its comprehensive solution to the Lebanese crisis and after Sarkis delivered his message on entente. The enthusiasm that the isolationist party has shown for these programs is no more than trickery that has several objectives. The popular unrest in the isolationist ghettos has reached its peak in the aftermath of the massacres that took place between the Phalangists



and the Liberals. Residents of the desolate areas of Jubayl are asking with extreme anxiety about the purpose behind turning their areas into arms arsenals that resemble the barracks of regular armies.

This deal--which will not be the last--will make entente programs a mere illusion. On the other hand, it requires that an effort be made to provide the ultimate and the most capable in military and political preparations to confront the fascist right and its numerous maneuvers.

8592

CSO: 4802

## TRADE WITH SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

### Agreement With Three Countries

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 18 Mar 80 p 7

[Text] Ambassador Kasrawan Labaki the secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign and Expatriates Affairs held an expanded meeting to discuss proposed trade agreements with Romania, Poland and Czechoslovakia. These agreements would replace the (clearing) agreements that are in effect with the three socialist countries.

The meeting was attended by the director of economic affairs in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mishal Salamah; the director general of the economy, Antoine Musalli; the director general of the office of fruits, Raymond Rufa'il; the director of the Technical Department in the Industry Directorate, 'Imad al-Nawwam; Jabir Sukkar, the representative of the Supreme Customs Council; a representative of the Bank of Lebanon; the head of the Maritime Transport Department in the Ministry of Public Works and Transportation, Raymond Farahat; Joseph 'Aql, legal adviser in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Ralph Rayashi, legal adviser in the Ministry of Justice; the president of the Lebanese Shipowners Association, Anwar al-Ghazawi; and 'Abdallah 'Atiyah, representative of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Beirut.

At the beginning of the meeting Ambassador Labaki spoke about the fact that Romania, Poland and Czechoslovakia had expressed a desire in 1977 for replacing the (clearing) agreements with free agreements. They announced that they were prepared to import agricultural and industrial products for a specific sum of money per year, just like the Soviet Union did in 1970 and Democratic Germany, in 1975.

He said that the three countries had proposed new agreements which were reviewed by the authorized administrations and communicated to trade representatives. After these administrations reviewed the proposed agreements, it was decided that counter Lebanese proposals would be drafted. These would be studied and their final form would be confirmed to prepare for communicating them to the governments of the three countries.

It has been learned that one of the innovations in the proposed agreements is to give the Lebanese commercial fleet, which has regular routes to the ports of these countries, a share in transporting goods to Lebanon. This is the first time such a stipulation is noted in an agreement. This would make its adoption possible when agreements with other countries are amended.

#### Agreements To Improve Trade Balance

Beirut AL-NAHAR in Arabic 16 Mar 80 p 5

[Text] A meeting is to be held tomorrow in the Ministry of Foreign and Expatriates Affairs to look into amending the (clearing) agreements between Lebanon and Poland, Romania and Czechoslovakia and to replace those agreements with individual trade agreements like those that were concluded with the Soviet Union and with the German Democratic Republic.

The (clearing) agreements go back to the years that followed World War II when the Lebanese Republic concluded agreements with the five aforementioned socialist countries. These agreements were based on principles of settlement which gave them the name of clearing agreements.

The principal objective of these agreements was:

1. With regard to Lebanon: To reduce the deficit in Lebanon's balance of trade by means of opening the markets in these countries to all the products of Lebanon, especially the agricultural products.
2. With regard to the countries of eastern Europe: To develop the export traffic of their industrial products to Lebanon and to ensure payment for their purchases from Lebanon through the (clearing) accounts instead of making the payments in hard currencies.

But it became evident that equality between purchases made from the countries of eastern Europe and the purchases made by these countries from Lebanon was never realized despite commitments made in that regard and included in the agreements. There were several reasons for that; the most prominent among them are:

\* The countries of eastern Europe included in the tables proper to these agreements only those goods that were less popular in their markets, and they did not include the popular goods that Lebanon was importing in each case. Accordingly, Lebanon included in those tables its vital products that it was exporting to all countries.

\* Lebanon sanctions the principle of free trade and discounts, whereas the countries of eastern Europe sanction the principle of the guided economy. This has disrupted equality in [the process of] commercial exchange. This means that if a Lebanese merchant is free to import what he wants from the aforementioned countries, he is not free to export what he wants to them.

This is because exports to those countries are subject to a general plan that is drawn by their governments or by specialized organizations that operate under the supervision of those governments.

Lebanese authorities, therefore, found it necessary to reconsider the foundations of the agreements and to replace them with free agreements. The two (clearing) agreements were actually replaced by two free trade agreements with the Soviet Union in 1970 and with the German Democratic Republic in 1973.

It is to be noted that the agreements that have been concluded with Czechoslovakia, Romania and Poland are as follows:

First, Czechoslovakia:

# 1. Agreements in Effect;

\* A trade agreement signed on 12/7/1952.

\* An agreement to exchange goods and payments, signed on 7/11/1961.

\* An additional protocol for the agreement to exchange goods and payments signed on 23/4/1963.

# 2. The Balance of Trade

The Year	Imports (in 1,000 pounds)	Exports (in 1,000 pounds)	The Deficit (in 1,000 pounds)
1970	37,971	8,048	29,923 in Czechoslovakia's favor
1971	41,384	8,689	32,695 in Czechoslovakia's favor
1972	56,463	15,409	41,054 in Czechoslovakia's favor
1973	70,057	16,508	53,549 in Czechoslovakia's favor
1977	79,959	2,636	77,323 in Czechoslovakia's favor

The most important goods imported from Czechoslovakia are: milk and dairy products; sugar; citrus fruits; drugs; rubber tubes; raw hides; lumber; wooden products; paper; cardboard; synthetic fibres for textiles; cotton fibres and textiles; carpets; vinyl textiles; underwear; foot wear; glass and glass products; jewelry and synthetic jewels; iron and steel; tools; replacement parts; electrical tools; and munitions for hunting.

The most important products that are exported from Lebanon are: trips; sweet potatoes; lentils; oranges; sour lemons; confectionaries; fruit juice; vinyl textiles; scrap metal; and iron.



## Second, Romania

### 1. Agreements in Effect

- \* A trade and payments agreement, signed on 6/1/1956.
- \* An agreement for civilian air transport, signed on 25/2/1967.
- \* An agreement for tourist cooperation, signed on 15/2/1974.

### 2. The Balance of Trade

The Year	Imports (in 1,000 pounds)	Exports (in 1,000 pounds)	The Deficit (in 1,000 pounds)
1970	42,577	1,912	40,665 in Romania's favor
1971	39,230	1,881	37,349 in Romania's favor
1972	39,709	1,293	38,416 in Romania's favor
1973	63,253	1,925	61,327 in Romania's favor
1977	165,539	454	165,085 in Romania's favor

The most important imported goods are: lumber; vegetables; grain; oil [producing] seeds; meat; live animals; iron; fibres; textiles; paper; chemicals; plastic; rubber; sausage; canned goods; feed; oil derivatives; manual tools; electrical machines; ceramics; porcelain; explosives; hunting munitions; paint; artificial flowers; marble; and limestone.

The most important goods exported from Lebanon are: sour lemons and raw hides.

## Third: Poland

### 1. Agreements in effect

- \* A trade and payment agreement, signed on 5/10/1961
- \* An agreement to regulate air services, signed on 25/4/1966.

### 2. The Balance of Trade

The Year	Imports (in 1,000 pounds)	Exports (in 1,000 pounds)	The Deficit (in 1,000 pounds)
1970	8,853	2,250	6,603 in Poland's favor
1971	12,659	2,112	10,547 in Poland's favor
1972	16,299	5,891	10,408 in Poland's favor
1973	20,681	5,687	14,994 in Poland's favor
1977	35,092	384	34,708 in Poland's favor

The most important imported goods are: fresh meats; milk; cheese; butter; canned meats; soft coal; chemical fertilizers; paper; cardboard; synthetic fibres; synthetic textiles; woolen textiles; cotton textiles; carpets; hats; household goods of porcelain and glass; iron and steel; electrical machines and tools; automobiles and hunting munitions.

The most important goods exported from Lebanon are: citrus fruits; apples; fruit juices; broken cotton seed; al-tafl (meaning unknown); jewelry; and precious stones.

Thus the trade deficit between Lebanon and the three countries rose from 77 million pounds in 1970 to 129 million Lebanese pounds in 1973 and to 277 million Lebanese pounds in 1977.

8592

CSO: 4802

# COUNTRY'S 1980 DRAFT BUDGET OUTLINED

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 19 Mar 80 p 6

[Article: "1980 Budget Is 3,000,869,000; Deficit Is 1,367,000 and is to Be Covered by Special Revenues"]

[Headline figures appear to be erroneous; in text below, total budget is 3,869,000,000 and deficit is 1,367,000,000]

[Text] The Parliamentary Finance and Budget Committee has completed the 1980 draft budget after introducing to it the final amendments in preparation for having the bill discussed and approved with a single article in the session to be held by the Chamber of Deputies next Tuesday.

Muhammad Yusuf Baydun, the committee rapporteur, has attached to the draft budget a report itemizing the budget provisions in detail.

The budget contains 34 articles, including two fundamental charts: One for the allocations of the ministries and the departments and the other for the estimated revenues.

The total appropriations allocated amount to 3,869,000,000 pounds.

The estimated revenues for the same year, according to chart No 2, amount to 3,869,000,000 pounds, i.e. the same figure as that of the allocated appropriations.

However, the revenues chart underlines a deficit of 1,367,000,000 pounds [sic]. This figure stands for the so-called "special revenues" outlined in the revenues chart.

What is meant by the special revenues is the sum beyond the state's financial capacity after calculation of the fixed revenue sections, such as direct and indirect taxes and the revenues from state investments.

These special revenues are covered usually by loans, aid and similar sources.

The most outstanding allocations are those appropriated for the Ministry of National Defense (980,479,200 pounds), for the Ministry of Public Works and Transport (571,203,500 pounds) and the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts (510,867,500 pounds).

Following is the text of the amended draft budget:

Article 1: The figures of the general budget and of the appended budgets for the fiscal year beginning on 1 January 1980 and ending on 31 December 1980 shall be set in accordance with the provisions of articles 2 and 3 of this law.

Article 2: The allocations outlined hereafter shall be opened in the general budget and the appended budgets:

General budget (three sections): 3,869,000,000 [pounds]. [In chart at end of text, revenue budget consists of two, not three, sections.]

Budget of General Directorate of Telegraph and Telephone:	189,000,000
Budget of National Lottery Directorate:	69,000,000
Budget of the Grains and Beets Bureau:	266,500,000
Total	4,393,500,000

This is in accordance with charts 1, 2, 3 and 4 attached to this law.

Article 3: The revenues of the general budget and of the appended budgets are estimated as follows:

General Budget, Section One--Ordinary Revenues:	2,502,000,000
General Budget, Section Two--Special Revenues:	1,367,000,000
Budget of General Directorate of Telegraph and Telephone:	189,000,000
Budget of National Lottery Directorate:	69,000,000
Budget of Grains and Beets Bureau:	266,500,000
Total	4,393,500,000

This is in accordance with charts No 5, 6, 7 and 8 attached to this law.

Article 4: In accordance with the provisions of this law and of the provisions and laws in force or which will be published in the future, it shall be permitted to collect the various taxes, fees, dues and revenues specified in the charts attached to this law.



Article 5: The minister of finance shall be empowered, with the approval of the central (comptroller of expenditure contracts), to issue decisions to transfer:

1. The sums necessary as aid or compensation for the illness or death of those who are not members of the civil servants cooperative, in accordance with the laws and regulations in force, from the reserve allocation intended to finance the various provisions of the budget to the various provisions in the budget allocated for assistance in case of illness or death.

2. A maximum of 10 percent from the appropriation allocated in the budget of the Civil Service Commission for furniture, stationary and office requirements to the budgets of the various general directorates so that they may carry out maintenance work on their own. This shall be done at the request of the Civil Service Commission.

Article 6: The total appropriations allocated in section one of the budget of the Ministry of Public Health--paragraph one, item 7, section one--and designated for treatment in private hospitals and institutions shall be distributed in accordance with a decree issued by the Council of Ministers at the recommendation of the ministers of public health and finance.

Article 7: The propaganda appropriations allocated in (accordance with recommendation 12/1/6/1--paragraph 6) shall be spent totally or partially by the general director of the Ministry of Information and the general director of the Ministry of Finance, with the approval of the minister of information and without such spending being subject to the provisions of the administrative and financial laws and regulations in force.

For this purpose, the two general directors shall be given quarterly loans which shall be deposited in the treasury. A general quarterly statement of the sums paid signed by the two general directors shall be sufficient to pay these sums, to carry out the procedures concerning them, to liquidate them and to disburse them without the need for any other document.

Article 8: A sum of one million Lebanese pounds shall be deducted by the Ministry of Hydroelectric Resources from the municipal fee on inflammable materials as a cost of the energy for the electrification of villages that have no municipalities.

Article 9: In accordance with decrees adopted on the recommendation of the minister of finance and within sums equal to the budget deficit, long-term, medium-term and short-term bonds and loans may be issued in Lebanese and foreign currencies.

Article 10: Special treasury accounts shall be opened for loans. The sum collected from the total value of the loans shall be credited to these accounts and the sums disbursed in repayment of the due shares and bonds shall be debited against them.

Article 11: Income tax and property tax sums not exceeding 20 Lebanese pounds and due to have been collected by 31 December 1978 shall be considered dead debts and the financial authorities concerned shall be exempted from (issuing assignment charts for the collection of these sums).

The provisions of this article shall be applied to the fees of Beirut, Tripoli and al-Mina' municipalities.

Article 12: The fees levied in accordance with the provisions of chart No 9 shall be adjusted according to the basis and rates outlined in the chart.

Article 13: Judiciary fees shall be collected in accordance with rules that will be spelled out by a decree adopted by the Council of Ministers.

Article 14: The appropriations allocated for the public prosecution in accordance with (recommendation 4-2-8-2)--public right and appellate public prosecution expenses--shall be spent wholly or in part by the appellate public prosecution and without such spending being subject to the administrative and financial laws and regulations in force.

For this purpose, the appellate public prosecution shall be given quarterly credits which shall be deposited in the treasury and shall be repayed in accordance with the rules.

Article 15: 1. Contract and payment credits shall be opened in the general budget equal to the value of the loans concluded by the state or concluded for the state in accordance with decrees adopted by the Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the minister of finance.

2. Any provision conflicting with this article or incompatible with its contents shall be cancelled.

Article 16: The allocations of parts 107 and 109 of section three of chapter nine shall be merged in accordance with the following (recommendation):

Part 107: The construction, equipping, maintenance and repair of vocational and technical training and education institutes and schools.

Article 17: The tariffs and fees approved in accordance with article 13 of the 1972 budget law shall remain in force. However, these tariffs and fees may be adjusted in accordance with the provisions of article 13 of the agreement of 13 April 1960, approved by the law dated 31 May 1960.

Article 18: The appropriations of section three shall, when necessary, be (distributed) in accordance with decrees adopted on the recommendation of the minister concerned and the minister of finance. The provisions of paragraph No 1 of article 28 of the public accounting law shall be applied to these appropriations.

Article 19: The charts issued by the electronic [computer] center of the General Directorate of Finance for salaries and wages and their supplements and for monthly compensations of all kinds shall be considered final and shall not need to be signed by the examiners concerned.

When necessary, the details of the application of the provisions of this article shall be defined by instructions issued by the minister of finance.

Article 20: On a decree adopted by the Council of Ministers, the government may approve amendment of the agreement concluded with the Bank of Lebanon and ratified by legislative decree No 123 and dated 30 June 1977 in light of the requirements of implementing the 1980 budget.

Article 21: Application of the provisions of legislative decree No 83 of 27 June 1977 shall be extended for 3 additional years ending on 31 December 1982.

Article 22: Application of the provisions of legislative decree No 38 of 16 June 1977 shall be extended until 31 December 1980.

Article 23: One third the revenues collected in collection areas defined on a decision by the minister of finance and where taxes are collected for the treasury from joint-stock companies only shall be considered transportation compensation.

Article 24: The chairman of the Control and Studies Authority, chief controllers and controllers in the Accounting Directorate, in the Research and Guidance Directorate of the Central Inspection Agency and in the Personnel Directorate of the Civil Service Commission shall, immediately upon their appointment, refrain from engaging in any hired work, any task or any job in the public establishments and municipalities, except for lecturing in the higher institutes. They shall be entitled to collect for their lectures a total compensation whose sum shall be determined by a decree issued by the Council of Ministers.

Article 25: The appropriations allocated in the pre-1975 budgets for major, subsidiary, local and internal roads may be redistributed for other roads located in the same area, regardless of its classification, in accordance with bills presented by the deputies of the areas concerned within a period of 3 months after the issuance of this law, provided that the appropriation allocated for a single road is no less than 10,000 pounds.

Article 26: The chairmen and members of the bid-awarding committees may be paid a compensation for every bid-awarding session they hold. The sum of the compensation shall be determined by a decree issued by the Council of Ministers.

Article 27: Engineers employed by and actually working in public agencies and holding permits from the Ministry of Public Works and Transport to practice the profession of engineering may be awarded a financial compensation for 1980

equal to the total special compensation given to them in the said year. This compensation shall not be calculated with the other compensations stipulated in article 27 of legislative decree No 112, dated 12 June 1959, and its amendments.

**Article 28:** While retaining the stipulations of decree No 2176 dated 9 July 1979, all taxes and fees due for 1979 and earlier years, including municipal fees not covered by decree No 2176 of 9 July 1979, shall be exempted from all penalties for delayed payment, provided that these taxes and fees are paid within a period of grace ending on 30 November 1980.

Regardless of any other provision, the citizens shall be exempted from the penalties for lack of permits connected with direct taxes and from the penalties for failure to register lease contracts if they present the permits required of them and register their lease contracts for 1979 and earlier years within a period of grace ending on 30 September 1980.

**Article 29:** A new period of grace of 3 months, beginning on the date this law goes into effect, shall be given to the civil servants on active duty to apply for calculating their previous service for the purpose of retirement or compensation within the conditions stipulated in article 52 of legislative decree No 113 dated 12 June 1959.

**Article 30:** The decisions adopted and which will be adopted in accordance with minister of finance directive No 154/1 dated 20 January 1963 and seeking to transfer the appropriations for the projects whose implementation is entrusted to the Construction Projects Implementation Council from the general budget to this council's account shall be legal.

**Article 31:** The following paragraph No 3 has been added to article 60 of the general accounting law:

3. Before ratification of the budget and on a decree issued by the Council of Ministers, the government shall be empowered to transfer appropriations from the budget reserve to finance the various provisions on the basis of the (ithna'ashariyah) rule.

**Article 32:** The text of article 12 of law No 21/79, dated 26 December 1979, has been amended as follows:

**Article 12:** The salaries and allowances of the president of the republic, the Chamber of deputies speaker, the prime minister, the ministers and the deputies shall be raised by 25 percent.

This amendment shall go into effect on the date set by article 16 of law No 21/79 dated 26 December 1979.

**Article 33:** The provisions of the (statute of limitations) shall not apply to the treasury or budget loans which must be repaid regardless of how long overdue they become.

**Article 34:** This law shall go into effect immediately upon its publication.



Chart of Total Appropriations Allocated in 1980 General Budget  
(In Lebanese Pounds)

Name of Chapter	Section One	Section Two	Section Three	Total
Presidency	2,434,000	113,000	--	2,549,000
Chamber of Deputies	12,308,500	150,000	--	12,458,500
Parliamentary Ship	6,101,600	11,000,000	--	72,016,600
Ministry of Justice	27,547,300	--	--	27,547,300
Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Expatriates	56,606,700	5,365,000	--	61,971,700
Ministry of Interior	189,641,800	27,944,800	--	217,586,600
Ministry of Finance	51,552,600	1,425,000	--	52,977,600
Ministry of National Defense	457,139,200	380,340,000	143,000,000	980,479,200
Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts	505,912,500	4,955,000	--	510,867,500
Ministry of Public Health	95,233,700	20,805,000	--	116,038,700
Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs	31,358,500	36,531,400	--	67,889,900
Ministry of Information	14,180,300	500,000	--	14,680,300
Ministry of Public Works and Transport	56,869,500	302,799,000	211,535,000	571,210,350 [sic]
Ministry of Agriculture	9,822,500	36,260,000	--	46,082,500
Ministry of Economy and Commerce	156,828,800	50,000	--	156,878,800
Ministry of Post, Telegraph and Telephone	25,510,800	1,000,000	--	26,510,800
Ministry of (General Planning)	--	--	--	--
Ministry of Hydroelectric Resources	8,515,500	34,204,000	--	42,719,500
Ministry of Tourism	21,046,800	9,202,400	--	30,249,200
Ministry of Industry and Oil	2,150,100	619,000	--	2,769,100
Ministry of Housing and Cooperatives	4,693,700	1,796,400	--	649,100 [sic]
Debt Due To Be Repaid	372,287,700	--	--	327,287,700
Budget Reserves	476,745,900	--	--	476,745,900
Grand Totals	2,639,403,000	875,062,000	354,535,000	3,869,000,000

# Chart of Estimated Total Revenues of Draft Budget

Estimated 1980 Revenues  
(In Lebanese Pounds)

Chapter Number	Name of Chapter First Section	Section One	Section Two	Total
Chapter One	Direct Taxes and Similar Fees	719,600,000	--	719,600,000
Chapter Two	Indirect Taxes and Fees	964,300,000	--	964,300,000
Chapter Three	Revenues of State Properties and Invest- ment Interests	28,800,000	--	28,800,000
Chapter Four	Miscellaneous Revenues	789,300,000	--	789,300,000
Chapter Five	Sum Taken from Reserve Funds	For Information		For Information
Single Chapter	Second Section			
	Special Revenues	1,367,000,000		1,367,000,000
	Total Revenues	2,502,000,000	1,367,000,000	3,869,000,000

SMUGGLING ACTIVITY SAID FLOURISHING IN LIBERAL PORT IN DUBAYYAH

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 19 Mar 80 p 5

[Article: "Liberals' Port in Dubayyah Rivals Aquamarina Port in Smuggling Arms and Goods"]

[Text] Activity has recently increased in the port run by the Liberal National Party on the Dubayyah coastline, thus competing with the Aquamarina Port in Junyah, controlled by the Phalanges Party.

The Liberals built this special port of theirs in Dubayyah more than a year ago by filling the sea with rocks, heavy earth and enormous cement blocks, thus forming something like a pier [sansul] next to a basin that can receive small boats with load capacities ranging from 500 to 800 tons. This port has been used frequently for unloading the arms shipments sent to the Liberal militia. It seems that the party's most significant motives behind building the port is to get rid of the custodianship of the Phalanges over the importation of weapons to the Aquamarina Port in Junyah.

As for the increased activity in Dubayyah Port, one of the most influential Liberals attributes this increase to the importation by some merchants of shipments of luxury commodities through this port. These merchants import smuggled goods with no certificate of origin, thus earning doubled profits because these goods are bought inexpensively and do not entail customs fees, except for a tax amounting to 15 percent of the value of the goods collected by the Liberal militia.

AL-SAFIR has learned that the boats that unload at Dubayyah Port fly no flag whatsoever and that the port is managed by a person called Joseph 'Abbud, a person who is close to ex-President Sham'un, who collects the revenues and whose men run the port's unloading, storage and other services.

There are nearly 175 workers in Dubayyah Port and each of them earns a wage of 12 pounds per hour. The Liberal Party has opened a center on the main road to display the smuggled goods which include electrical appliances, shoes, blankets and other articles.

8494

CSO: 4802

MINISTER DISCUSSES OBSTACLES TO CMEN'S PROGRAM

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 7 Apr 80 p 5

[Press conference, held on 6 April 1980, by the minister in charge of the CMEN staff: "The CMEN Program Clashes With Selfish Interests"; place of press conference not given]

[Text] [Question] Mr Minister, certain rumors have been circulating in Nouakchott in recent days, to the effect that the political forces which have traditional ties with the former regime have shown renewed activism in order to hamper the action of the CMEN [Military Committee for National Salvation]. What is the situation and what possible measures are being contemplated by the national directorate to block such forces?

[Answer] To speak of "political forces with traditional ties to the former regime" seems a little exaggerated to me. Because I believe that if the former regime had relied on a real political force, we would probably not be at the stage we are at today; the movement of 10 July would not have succeeded as it did with popular enthusiasm to take power and to proceed on the road toward achieving a program which is precisely the reverse of that of the former regime.

Naturally, the Military Committee's program has knocked over a certain order and clashed with certain interests. The latter are individual interests or at best interests of small groups. There is nothing surprising then in the fact that these small groups and these individuals become restless and continue to cherish the vain hope of regaining lost positions.

But what do these tiny groups and these individuals really mean when compared with the large masses in this country, which have dissociated themselves from a past forever gone and which fully support the program developed for them by the CMEN?

You are asking me the nature of the measures considered by the national directorate to block such "forces."

I do not think that there is a more dissuasive, more effective measure than that of the application of the recovery program. And this application is



being pursued with as much conviction as determination. And it is this determination, isn't it, which has caused the agitated agony currently experienced by the enemies (fortunately few in number) of peace, of stability and of the overall recovery of the situation in the country.

[Question] What specifically do you expect during this stage of the patriotic national forces?

[Answer] That they remain as vigilant as they are resistant to indoctrination. I will explain myself: in their spirit as well as in their behavior, the individuals and groups which are hostile to change feel estranged from the orientations of the CMEN and from its action to stabilize the domestic and foreign situation of the country.

As such, their harmful actions could manifest themselves in various ways.

Absenteeism, bad treatment of files, administrative and social behavior hostile to the masses and contrary to their interests, the spreading of false rumors, etcetera. In order to undermine the morale of the people and to make them lose confidence in the action of the regime.

Such are, among others, some of the different forms which the harmful action of any enemy of the policy of national salvation could assume. It is the duty of any true patriot to denounce and fight such schemes, such methods.

The patriotic forces must first of all produce the necessary effort to safeguard themselves against the effects of indoctrination and, with full knowledge of the facts, to face the real enemies of progress in Mauritania.

This calls for a permanent vigilance, but also and primarily for a sense of judgement and a real appreciation of facts and of people.

This would make it possible to avoid many mistakes because, after all, the declared or potential enemies of the current course can be counted on one's fingers.

This was a very important aspect of the role assigned to the patriotic forces during the current phase. But there is something even more important: the translation of this feeling of patriotism into facts through action, through work and through sweat.

I believe and I hope that there is no further need for me to expand too much on this aspect, whose salutary effects on the country are necessary for everyone today.

[Question] Some political personalities from the former regime, among whom the former president, are abroad and are said to have engaged in political activities. Is this true?

[Answer] A person can always dream, even if he is firmly convinced that the dream will not become reality. Especially when you want to make somebody into something he does not want to be, something he cannot be.

[Question] Mr Minister, the CNHR has expressed itself in favor of participation by the people in the life of the administration through regional councils, whose members will be chosen in function of competence and representativeness. How far has the establishment of these councils progressed?

[Answer] The establishment of these regional councils will occur very shortly. I understand your impatience. But I would like to refer you to the article, published last Saturday in CHAAB, in the "Better Understanding for Better Reaction" column, entitled "For Really Representative Regional Councils" and to which I would ask you to give the largest possible distribution.

There you will find information to satisfy your curiosity about the reasons for this delay and on the CNHR's conception of the composition and role of these future regional councils.

[Question] Mr Minister, Mauritania will remain concerned about the conflict in the Sahara as long as a final solution has not been found. Are serious efforts being made at this time which might lead one to hope that the end is in sight?

[Answer] Mauritania has withdrawn from this fratricidal conflict in the Sahara but as you said, and rightly so, we will remain concerned about this conflict as long as no final solution has been found to it.

It is our brothers who are killing each other and who are killing each other on our borders. Thus, for more than one reason, we remain concerned about the conflict itself and about any solution which could possibly be found for it.

We know that since the start of the hostilities, repeated attempts have been made by numerous Arab, African and other countries, but also and foremost by the OAU to find a just solution to this conflict.

To the best of our knowledge, none of these attempts has succeeded yet. And we believe that if a solution had been found, we would know about it because it is illogical, and hence unthinkable, that we would not be informed about, if not associated with, any solution to this conflict.

[Question] Should Mauritania take a diplomatic initiative in this direction?

[Answer] The position of Mauritania, the attitude of neutrality which has been observed since 5 August 1979, and the nature of the confident relationships it has applied itself to maintain and develop with all the countries and peoples of the region, naturally predetermine it to play a primary role in the dynamics of a search for a solution acceptable to all.

At the end of its last meeting, the Permanent Committee of the OANH repeated its wish and the desire of our country to exploit its position with regard to the Maghrebian conflict, to the benefit specifically of a return to peace and stability in the outregion.

If this position were understood and really appreciated at its just value by all parties, there would no longer be anything in the way of an initiative of the kind you mentioned.

[Question] Mr Ahmed Bala Mlake's return to Mauritania has been interpreted in various ways. Do you believe that the return of this personality, after several years in exile, has a particular political significance?

[Answer] The most fantastic rumors which have been circulated about Mr Mlake's presence in Nouakchott are a perfect illustration of the style and methods of the apostles of indoctrination. As well as their skill in finding sounding boards to amplify their venomous ideas. Mr Mlake was not the first person to leave Mauritania for political or personal reasons. Neither is he the first to have returned to his family, following a long period of exile. He will certainly not be the last. Remember the exodus of public figures which occurred in the early sixties and even toward the seventies.

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PRC FINANCIAL, IRRIGATION PROJECTS NOTED

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 7 Apr 80 p 3

[Article: "An Exemplary Cooperation"]

[Text] The projects which have been completed or are in the process of being completed by the People's Republic of China [PRC] in our country, can be divided into two categories.

1. Projects financed by grants from the Chinese government to the Mauritanian government. This project category includes the youth and cultural centers, the National Center for Hygiene (CNH), the hospitals of Kiffa and Selimby as well as the Chinese medical stations which provide health care in the regions of Hodh Chergui and El Gharby, of Assaba and Guldimekha.

It should be recalled that medical cooperation between the two countries is already 11 years old and that the agreement between the two countries in this area expired in April 1979, the date on which the Chinese government had expressed the desire to repatriate the medical teams in question.

Upon request by the Mauritanian authorities, the Chinese government agreed to keep all these teams in Mauritania for an additional period of 1 year, except for the one operating in Nema whose repatriation had already taken place.

This issue might be brought up during the visit of the Chinese deputy prime minister, which will take place beginning today.

Nor is it impossible that the two parties may be led to study the question of the construction, by the Chinese, of a hospital, either in Nema or in one of our other regional capitals.

It is known that the People's Republic of China has already committed itself to building the hospital in question.



2. Projects financed by loans from the People's Republic of China. This includes the following projects:

- The M'Pourie project: the M'Pourie farm (630 hectares) was completed in 1972 and handed over to the Mauritanian authorities, while the development of the plain (1,000 hectares of rice) will be completed during the first quarter of 1980.

Within the framework of these two projects, the Chinese have built two irrigation and drainage stations equipped respectively with 11 and 7 motor pumps.

- The Idini station, which supplies the city of Nouakchott with drinking water, has been in operation for a few years, with a capacity of 20,000 tons a day.

- The electric power station of Nouakchott: the first stage of the project has already been completed. Eight diesel engines have been put in operation, making possible a production of 5,040 kilowatt/hours.

The production of this electric power station will be increased to 24,000 kilowatt/hours.

- The clothes manufacturing unit: having been completed and handed over to Mauritania, this unit has not been put into operation yet.

- The deep water port of Nouakchott: the work to complete this project, undoubtedly the most important of the range of projects which have been completed by the People's Republic of China in Mauritania to date, began on 10 April and is actively continuing. Its total cost will reach 5 to 6 billion ouguias.

- The Olympic stadium in Nouakchott: the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstones for this project was conducted by the head of state on 22 January last. It will have a 10,000 seat capacity.

Furthermore, the People's Republic of China has agreed to make important loans to our country, amounting to 2 billion 260 million ouguias.

The 460 Chinese advisers working in Mauritania, are divided up as follows:

Deep water port .....	310
Olympic stadium .....	60
M'Pourie farm .....	40
Medical teams .....	35
National Center for Hygiene .....	15

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BOUCETTA DISCUSSES RELATIONS WITH AFRICA, SPAIN

Rabat L'OPINION in French 14 Apr 80 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Boucetta by Jean Wolf, exclusive for L'OPINION and REMARQUES ARABO-AFRICAINES: "It is Through Reintegration With Its Motherland That a People Recovers Its Independence"--date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] Use Of The Missions

[Question] The mission you sent through Africa constituted a real diplomatic offensive. But was that not an easy reaction: sending a delegation to friendly countries like Senegal, Gabon, Zaire, or the Ivory Coast, when it should be necessary to attack mentally those who disagree with you?

[Answer] I think that the missions went, more or less, all over Africa, except for Liberia, country of the present president of the OAU, where a special approach was needed at my personal level.

Actually we made contact with all of Africa, and not only with the countries mentioned in your question. Even such countries as posed as Morocco's adversaries, for example Madagascar and Mozambique...

[Question] And did everyone listen to them?

[Answer] Yes, even where they were not welcome initially.

[Question] And do you think that it served a purpose?

[Answer] If I am to believe the delegations' reports, which I was able to examine, people in certain sectors had no information whatever, or had been "duped intellectually," so to speak. Therefore, the situation had to be corrected, and African opinion had to be brought back to a healthy view of reality.

## Stopping Subversion

[Question] Currently, and for as long as you would like to use them, you have special arguments at your disposal. You can mention situations which speak for themselves: what is going on in Afghanistan, the events in Gafsa, in Tunisia...I think that you can easily show Europe that it is high time it gave the problem some thought, if it does not want to be taken from the rear, in the south, while an attack is going on in the east. The Sahara can only be one square on the chessboard where the fate of the West is involved.

[Answer] For several years, we have not stopped saying that what is going on in Morocco, in the Saharan provinces, is only one aspect of an overall effort. In reality, they are trying to unsettle the whole region, not only Morocco and Mauritania, but also Tunisia, Senegal, and Mali.

For the past 3 years, authoritative voices, notably that of our king, proclaimed, with just cause, that it is not a question of an isolated phenomenon, but of comprehensive offensive which changes its appearance according to circumstances. Again, the events in Afghanistan are only a part of a general problem. What goes on at the Horn of Africa, what goes on in Aden, are not in themselves phenomena, but they constitute the same pattern found everywhere.

In our opinion, the events in Gafsa certainly would have opened the eyes of those who wanted to keep them closed, including some friendly states from our area and which are directly affected by this.

We never stop explaining that we have here a process which can some day, in one way or another, touch any country. At present, Tunisia is the one who is attacked by the same technique. Tomorrow it will be Niger or Mali. After so many years of continually warning peoples and nations, we hope that in the end we will be understood.

[Question] But then, the great unsettling agent, the principal enemy, is really not Algeria anymore?

[Answer] Of course not! We see that all the groups that try to unsettle the region, including Chad, are armed and trained in Libya and radio controlled from Tripoli.

[Question] To what end? The establishment of a utopian empire in the sand, conceived in the mind of a megalomaniac?

[Answer] That is possible, but at the present time, I personally cannot analyze the real goal for which Libya is striving.

[Question] But after all, Sir, you must have a theory about it!

[Answer] I know that the final goal of all these ventures is to conquer Morocco and the whole region. But I am convinced, and this is not an assumption, that the Moroccan people, which has survived much more serious storms, will not give in and will once again overcome these harmful endeavours.

Rabat-Madrid: A Domestic Quarrel?

[Question] Since the visit of King Juan Carlos to Rabat, one had the impression that relations between Morocco and Spain were excellent, the more so since your recent visit to Madrid was a good one. And this situation seemed normal to me, considering the historical and political affinity between the two countries.

But in a recent edition of L'OPINION, I read that Morocco might close its territorial waters to Spanish fishing trawlers if Spain does not allow Moroccan citrus fruit to be transported across its territory.

On the other hand, the newspaper AL ALAM adds that the Polisario is supposed to be preparing an operation off the Saharan coast, with the help of certain Spanish coastal quarters, based in the Canary Islands.

After all, these are very serious accusations. What does the leader of Moroccan diplomacy think of it?

[Answer] I think we must put the Spanish-Moroccan relations back into their natural setting.

You mentioned a royal visit to our country, which was only a response to the visit to Spain of his Majesty, King Hassan II. Also, there were and there continue to be exchanges in foreign affairs and in other ministries, not forgetting the visits paid by both sides on the representative, popular, and union levels.

With Spain, our relations go through ups and downs, given the period of change existing in that country and the important role taken on by the media, for which I am delighted, in a country that was deprived of the freedom of speech for over 30 years.

I think that when we speak of recent news about certain Spanish fishing-boats in certain areas, of certain actions that some small groups, or even Spanish parties, are prepared to take, one must not confuse these incidents or these jolts with the whole of the Moroccan-Spanish relations.

The fishing problem, which some people wanted to use as a breaking point or as an absolutely necessary point for directing or for conditioning all relations between Morocco and Spain, is, in reality, only one problem among many.



That is why, on this occasion, I would like to repeat that the relationship between Madrid and Rabat must be considered for the long run and go beyond problems of economic conditions, or immediate problems that come up and which are the problems of everyday life. Even in a family there are always daily issues to be resolved, but above all, there is a goal to be achieved: calmness in relationships.

The relations with Spain must be looked at in that context. I do not want for proof only the visits just mentioned, but also the exchanges between intellectuals, tradesmen, universities, newspapermen, in Madrid, in Marrakech, or shortly in Barcelona.

For Spain, as for ourselves, it is a problem of security and the defense of certain values we hold in common, in a complete way, and also to understand that we have a common destiny to defend. For Spain, we are the natural gateway to the Arab world and to Africa. While Spain is for us the European door to christian values.

[Question] In real terms, this could be translated into a tunnel under the Straits of Gibraltar...

[Answer] We are immersed in files concerning this tunnel. I hope that in the future we will be able to go down into the tunnel itself.

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MAURITANIAN GOVERNMENT MUST HAVE COURAGE TO BE NEUTRAL

Rabat L'OPINION in French 15 Apr 80 p 1

[Article by Boujemas Amara: "Mauritania Facing the Same Enemies"]

[Text] In the conflict between Morocco and Algeria, soon after the signing of the Madrid agreement specifying the terms for Spain's withdrawal from the recovered Moroccan Sahara, Mauritania found itself, time and again, in an unfavorable situation. Well before the Madrid agreement, Nouakchott followed Boumedienne's orders to the letter. Boumedienne saw in any action detrimental to Moroccan interests a cause in the service of Algeria. Mokhtar Ould Dada, president of Mauritania at that time, in a strong position because of Algerian support, also claimed the Western Sahara, in order to obstruct the decolonization process started by Morocco and to complicate to an inordinate degree the Moroccan file, thus responding to the wishes of Algiers' geopolitical vision.

Acting as chief of state, Mr Mokhtar Ould Dada evidently gained in the deal. What the theoreticians of Algerian expansionism did not foresee was the receptiveness, the flexibility, and the clear-sightedness of the Moroccan Government which, instead of clinging to an attitude of refusal and intemperance, accepted dialog and consultation, accepted and followed up on Nouakchott's demands in order to short circuit the pro-Franco plot and thus confuse Algeria.

Mauritania, which according to Algerian leaders was skillfully manipulated to boycott Morocco, found, from one day to the next, that it was an objective and natural ally of Morocco, sharing its options and even its military effort. The last Boumedienne-Mokhtar Ould Dada interview in Hassi Messaoud showed the Mauritanian president the truth about the Algerian Government's ulterior motives. The Algerian Government is indignant that the Mauritaniens reject Algeria's thesis, emphasize cooperation with Rabat, and are moving away from the injunctions of the revolutionary literature.

Mauritania was treated as something to be exploited, manipulated like a pawn, shaken like a puppet, in order to speed up the process for the Algerian plan for hegemony. This heart-rending and unfortunately belated

realization explains the inflexibility of the position of Ould Dada's government with regard to the Sahara. While the late President Boumedienne had a master-vassal relationship with the Mauritanian president, Rabat enticed him, informed him, consulted him as an equal, and translated into action agreements and promises that had been made.

In spite of an economy on the verge of bankruptcy, a string of attacks aimed at Mauritania's principal resources, a great disproportion regarding its military capability facing the Algerian enemy, Mr Mokhtar Ould Dada courageously put up a resistance until the day when a military coup put an end to his duties.

Since then, we know that Nouakchott withdrew from Oued Eddahab. The present government would like to remain neutral in the Algerian-Moroccan conflict. Harassed by the Algerian government, admonished by the Libyan regime, threatened by the "POLISARIO," Nouakchott is trying to get out, by any means possible, of the system to which he was a party. Mauritania is now in a strange position. Whether it is in or out of the Sahara, its enemies are still at its heels today. Previously, they reproached it for occupying land. Now they reproach it for abandoning the land. The Algerian leaders want, as under Boumedienne, that Mauritania behave like an agent, a subordinate. It is not to dictate policy. It has only to follow orders.

This state of affairs outraged Mr Ould Dada when he was making decisions for Mauritania. Will the present government have the courage to ignore the threats from abroad in order to promote neutrality, without which it will be very difficult to protect an already precarious independence?

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